

Mr. Kemp- Western State

OUR MARTYRS:

A RECORD OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED FOR THE
CATHOLIC FAITH UNDER THE PENAL LAWS
IN IRELAND.

Daniel Richardson Came
ACROSS THIS BOOK on
19-2-2007

BY THE LATE
REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Illustrated from Contemporary Prints.

DUBLIN:
FALLON & CO., 16 LOWER SACKVILLE STREET.

1896.



Venerable OLIVER PLUNKET, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland,
Executed at Tyburn, July 1st, 1681

Printed by
SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER,
94, 95 & 96 MID. ASHEN STREET,
DUBLIN.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	xiii
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	xxi
LIST OF MORE IMPORTANT WORKS QUOTED FROM AND RE- FERRED TO	xxiii
INTRODUCTION: THE PENAL LAWS	
I. REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., AND MARY ...	1
II. REIGN OF ELIZABETH	9
III. REIGN OF JAMES I.	12
IV. REIGN OF CHARLES I.	27
V. THE CROMWELLIANS	32
VI. REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.	42
VII. REIGNS OF WILLIAM AND MARY	47
VIII. REIGNS OF GEORGE I., GEORGE II., AND GEORGE III. ...	67
IX. THE ACT OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION	76
OUR MARTYRS	79-373

PLATES.

- i. Venerable Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland, executed at Tyburn, July 1st,
1681 *Frontispiece*
- ii. Lycadoon, the birth-place of the Most Rev. Dermot
O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel ... *facing p. 126*
- iii. Torturing and Hanging of Dermot O'Hurley, Arch-
bishop of Cashel, A.D. 1584; Execution of Cornelius
O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Patrick
O'Lochran, O.S.F., A.D. 1612 ... *facing p. 141*
- iv. Execution of Dominic Collins, S.J., 31st October, A.D.
1602 *facing p. 218*
- v. Thomas Aquinas a Jesu; Peter of the Mother of God;
Angelus a Conceptione, O.D.C. ... *facing p. 275*
- vi. Head of Venerable Oliver Plunket, preserved in Domi-
nican Convent, Drogheda ... *facing p. 368*

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

	PAGE
1535	
Ven. John Travers, O.S.A. ...	82
1539	
Trinitarians of Adare ...	83
" " Dublin ...	85
Cornelius O'Neill, Bp. of Limerick, and the Trinit. of that city ...	86
1540	
Franciscans, Monaghan ...	89
1541	
Cistercians, St. Mary's, Dublin ...	89
1565	
Roger Congaill and Conor M'Varra, O.S.F. ...	90
1569	
Daniel O'Duillan, O.S.F. ...	91
1570	
Dermot O'Mulrony, Br. Thomas, and Another ...	92
1575	
John O'Lochran, Edmund Fitzsimon, and Donagh O'Roarke, O.S.F. ...	94
Fergall Ward, O.S.F. ...	94
1577	
Thomas Coursy ...	95
1578	
Maurice Gibbon, Archbishop of Cashel ...	96
Hugh Lacy, B. of Limerick ...	96
Phelim O'Hara, Henry Delahoyde, O.S.F. ...	97
Edmund Tanner, Bishop of Cork ...	97
David O'Hurley, Dean of Emly ...	100
Patrick O'Hely, B. of Mayo, Con O'Rourke, O.S.F. ...	100
Thomas Moeran, Dean of Cork ...	105
Simon Luttrell, Archd. of Meath ...	106
1579	
Tadhg O'Daly, O.S.F. ...	106
John O'Dowd, O.S.F. ...	108

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

vii

PAGE

1580

Edmund M'Donnell, S.J. ...	109
Daniel O'Neilan, O.S.F. ...	111
Daniel Hinrehan, Philip O'See, and Maurice Scanlan, O.S.F. ...	112
Laurence O'Moore, Oliver Plunkett, and William Walsh ...	113
Gelasius O'Cullenan, O.Cist., Hugh Mulkeeran, O. Prem., and Eugene Cronc ...	114
Tadhg Donald and John Hanly, O.S.F. ...	117

1581

Richard Frinch ...	117
Nicholas Nugent, David Sutton, John Sutton, Thomas Eustace, John Eustace, William Wogan, Robert Sherlock, John Clinch, Thomas Netherfield, and Robert Fitzgerald ...	118
Matthew Lamport ...	119
Robert Miller, Edward Cheevers, John O'Lahy, and Patrick Canavan ...	120
Nicholas Fitzgerald, O.Cist. ...	120
Maurice Eustace ...	121
Patrick Hayes ...	123
Daniel O'Hanan ...	124

1582

John Wallis ...	124
Eneas Penny ...	124
Donough O'Reddy ...	125
Roger Donnellan, Charles Goran, Patrick O'Chillian, Patrick O'Kenna, James Pillan, and Roger O'Hanlon, O.S.F. ...	125
Teigue O'Morachue, O.S.F. ...	126

1584

Dermot O'Hurley, Arch. of Cashel ...	126
Thaddeus Clancy ...	148
Dame Eleanor Birmingham ...	149
John O'Daly, O.S.F. ...	153
Mr. Aylworth ...	153
Cistercians of Graignamanagh ...	154

1585

Maurice Kinreghtin ...	155
Patrick O'Conor and Malachy O'Kelly, O.Cist. ...	165
Ven. Richard Creagh, Arch. of Armagh ...	166
Cistercians of Nenay ...	192

1586

Morrogh O'Brien, B. of Emly ...	193
Donagh O'Murheely, O.S.F. ...	194

1587

John Cornelius, O.S.F. ...	195
Walter Ferall, O.S.F. ...	195

	PAGE
1588	
Tadhg O'Boyle, O.S.F. ...	195
Sir Patrick Plunkett, Knight ...	196
Peter Miller ...	196
John O'Molloy, Cornelius Dogherty, and Geoffrey Ferall, O.S.F. ...	197
Peter Meyler ...	197
1590	
Matthew O'Leary, O.S.F. ...	198
Christopher Roche ...	198
1591	
Terence Magennis, Magnus O'Todhry, Loughlin Oge Mac O'Cadha, O.S.F. ...	199
1593	
Edmund Magauran, Archb. of Armagh ...	199
1594	
Andrew Strich ...	201
Ven. John Cornelius, S.J.; Ven. Terence Carey, and Ven. Patrick Salmon ...	201
1596	
Bernard Moriarty ...	206
1597	
Walter Ternan ...	206
John Stephens ...	207
1599	
James Dowdall ...	207
George Power, V.G. ...	209
1600	
Patrick O'Hca ...	209
Nicholas Young, P.P. ? ...	209
1601	
Redmond O'Gallagher, B. of Derry ...	210
Donough O'Mollony ...	210
John O'Kelly ...	212
Donagh O'Cronin ...	212
Donough O'Faloy ...	213
1602	
Dominic Collins, S.J. ...	213
Forty priests ...	219
1606	
Bernard O'Kearolan ...	220
Eugene O'Gallagher and Bernard O'Trevir, O.Cist. ...	220

	PAGE
1607	
Neal O'Boyle, O.S.F. ...	221
Eugene MacEgan ...	222
Sir John Burke ...	222
Robert Lalor, V.G. ...	233
1608	
Donough and John Olvin, O.P. ...	236
1609	
Patrick O'Derry, O.S.F. ...	237
Donough MacRedy, O.S.F. ...	237
1610	
John Lane ...	238
1612	
Cornelius O'Devany, B. of Down and Connor, and Patrick O'Lochan, O.S.F. ...	238
Sir Patrick Pucell ...	257
1617	
Thomas Fitzgerald, O.S.F. ...	257
1618	
Patrick O'Dyry ...	258
John Honan, O.S.F. ...	259
Cornelius Cronan, O.S.F. ...	259
1620	
James Eustace, O.Cist. ...	260
1621	
Francis Tailler ...	260
1622	
John Cathan, O.S.F. ...	262
1628	
Edmund Dungan, B. of Down and Connor ...	262
1631	
Patrick Fleming and Matthew Hore, O.S.F. ...	263
1633	
Arthur M'Geoghegan, O.P. ...	265
1639	
John Meagh, S.J. ...	268

	1642	PAGE
Peter Higgin, O.P.	271
Peter O'Higgin, O.P.	272
Edmund Hore and John Clancy	275
Fergal Ward, O.S.F.	275
Thomas Aquinas of Jesus, O.D.C.	275
George Halley, O.D.C.	280
Malachy Shiell, O.Cist., and Another	283
Cornelius O'Brien	286
Hilary Conroy, O.S.F.	286
Francis O'Mohun, O.S.F.	287
Raymond Keoghy, O.P.	291
Stephen Pettit, O.P.	291
Cormac Egan	292
Philip Clery	292
	1643	
Peter of the Mother of God, O.D.C.	293
	1644	
Cornelius O'Connor and Eugene Daly, O.S.S. Tria.	297
Christopher Donlevy, O.S.F.	300
	1645	
Edmund Mulligan, O.Cist.	301
Malachy O'Queely, Arch. of Tuam	302
Tadhg O'Connell, O.S.A.	303
Henry White	304
	1647	
The Massacre of Cappel	304
Richard Barry, O.P.	306
William Boyton, S.J.	306
Richard Butler, O.S.F.	307
Theobald Stapleton, Edward Stapleton, Theobald Stapleton, T.	307
Morrissey, and two Vicars Choral	308
James Saul, O.S.F.	308
	1648	
Gerald Fitzgerald and David Fox, O.P.	308
Andrew Hickey, O.S.F.	309
Donald O'Neaghen, O.P.	309
Bernard Horumley, O.S.F.	309
	1649	
Dominic Dillon, O.P.	310
Richard Oveton, O.P.	310
Robert Netterville, S.J.	310
John Bathe, S.J., and Thomas Bathe	312
Peter Taaffe, O.S.A.	312
Eugene O'Teman, O.S.F.	313
John Esmond, Peter Stafford, Raymond Stafford, Paul Synnott, Richard Synnott, Didacus Cheevers, and Paul Rochfort, O.S.F.	314

	1650	PAGE
Francis Fitzgerald, O.S.F.	317
Walter de Wallis and Antony Maurus, O.S.F.	317
James O'Reilly, O.P.	317
Boetius Egan, B. of Ross	318
Aineas O'Caill, O.P.	319
John Dormer, O.S.F.	319
Nicholas Ugan	320
	1651	
Myler Magrath	320
William Lynch, William O'Connor, and Peter Costello, O.P.	321
Denis O'Neilan, O.S.F.	321
Tadhg O'Carighy, O.S.F.	323
Hugh M'Keon, O.S.F.	324
Roger O'Mara, O.S.F.	324
Daniel Clanchy, O.S.F.	325
Jeremiah O'Nereheny, O.S.F.	325
Bernard O'Ferall and Laurence O'Ferall, O.P.	326
Louis O'Ferall	327
Francis O'Sullivan, O.S.F.	327
Edmund O'Bern, O.P.	328
William Hickey, O.S.F.	329
Philip Flasbery	329
Charles O'Dowd	329
Donough O'Brien	330
Terence A. O'Brien, B. of Emly	330
Sir Geoffrey Galway	332
Lawrence Walsh	332
Thomas Strich	333
Sir Patrick Percell	334
Geoffrey Baron	334
Dominic Fanning	335
Daniel O'Higgin	336
Vincent Gerald Dillon, O.P.	336
James Wolf, O.P.	337
Thomas O'Higgin, O.P.	337
Donough Dubh and James Moran, O.P.	338
	1652	
John Kearney, O.S.F.	338
John O'Cullen, O.S.F.	343
Nielan Lochran, O.S.F.	344
Antony O'Ferrall, O.S.F.	345
John O'Ferrall, O.S.F.	345
John O'Connor, Kerry	345
Roger Ormilus, P.P.	346
Hugh Carrighy, P.P.	347
Eugene O'Caill, O.S.F.	347
Bernard M'Briody	349
Bonaventure de Burge, O.S.F.	350
Thaddeus O'Connor	350
Thaddeus O'Connor, Sligo	350

Con O'Rourke	...	...	...	...	PAGE
Edward Butler	...	...	...	...	350
Bernard Fitzpatrick	...	...	...	...	351
Bridget Fitzpatrick	...	...	...	...	351
Antony Broder, O.S.F.	...	...	...	...	351
Cornelius M'Carthy	...	...	...	...	352
	1653				
Tadhg Moriarty, O.P.	...	...	...	...	353
Daniel Delany, P.P.	...	...	...	...	354
Bernard O'Kelly, O.P.	...	...	...	...	355
Honorio Burke, O.P., and Honorio Magaen, O.P.	...	...	...	...	355
	1654				
Hugh M'Goill, O.P.	...	...	...	...	357
Bernard Connolly, O.S.F.	...	...	...	...	357
Lady Roche	...	...	...	...	358
William Tirry and Others, O.S.A.	...	...	...	...	358
Daniel O'Brien, Luke Bergin, O.Cist. ; and James Murchu	...	...	...	...	360
John O'Flaverly, O.P.	...	...	...	...	362
	1656				
James O'Reilly, O.P.	...	...	...	...	362
	1665				
Raymond Moore, O.P.	...	...	...	...	363
	1679				
Charles Mahony, O.S.F.	...	...	...	...	363
	1680				
Peter Talbot, Archb. of Dublin	...	...	...	...	364
	1681				
Ven. Oliver Plunket, Archb. of Armagh	...	...	...	...	368
	1691				
Stephen Kohel, O.S.F.	...	...	...	...	373
Gerald Fitzgibbon, O.P.	...	...	...	...	373

PREFACE.

THE regretted author of this work on the Irish Martyrs had, himself, prepared an Introduction for it, on the theological definition of Martyrdom, and its application to those of whom he was writing. Unfortunately, the manuscript cannot be found among his papers. But it has been thought desirable to carry out his intention, and so the following paragraphs by another hand are presented to his readers:—

Etymologically, the word "Martyr" means nothing more than "witness." *Mápruv*, or *μάρτυς* in Attic Greek, was one who gave testimony, wherever and under whatever circumstances the testimony was given. But Christian writers soon specialised the term. In Greek itself, and much more in other languages, into which it was adopted, it came, before long, to mean a witness to Christ. Then a specific mode of witnessing was imported into the signification. And so, very early, it was understood, at least in the Christian Church, and when concerned with Christian testimony, to designate a witness to the Christian faith or teaching, one, too, who testified in some way by undergoing death. In all modern languages this is the meaning which the term bears.

--But, even in this limited sense, Christian usage is not always identical. St. John the Baptist is held to be a Martyr, though he did not die for the Christian faith; so, too, St. Thomas of Canterbury, who met death in defence of the immunities of the Church. St. John the Evangelist did not literally shed his blood, yet he is numbered amongst the Martyrs; as is St. Marcellus, Pope, who died in the lowly labours to which he had been condemned. And there are very many others such—held to be true Martyrs, though they were not violently put to death, and were never called on to deny Christ, or to formally abjure any of the truths He taught.

What, then, is Martyrdom, in the full and accurate meaning of the word? Theologians answer: *Passio mortis vel cruciatus lethalis pro fide Christi aut vera virtute*; 'the undergoing of death, or of sufferings which would naturally result in death, for the Faith of Christ or for some virtue which Christ taught.' The definition is not an arbitrary one, not framed on any *a priori* principles. It is gathered from a consideration of the various cases in which the usage of the Christian Church has bestowed the title. Theologians found that, from the earliest Christian times, men and women were revered as Martyrs, who bore testimony in very various ways; and they endeavoured to discover what common concept was always present to the Christian mind when attributing the name.

It was immaterial, they saw, in what way death was caused. It might be by actual outpouring of blood, as in the case of multitudes who were torn by wild beasts or perished by the sword. It might be by poison, by the

halter, by water, by fire—by any of the innumerable methods which cruelty has devised for taking life away. It was not necessary that death should follow fast upon the violence inflicted, not even that the violence should be excessive of its kind. Privations, labours, imprisonment, and the like, if borne in the rightful cause, and issuing in death, were believed to confer a Martyr's crown. And, stranger still, even where death did not ensue, if a miraculous interference were required to stay the fatal issue of sufferings in themselves sufficient to cause death, the sufferer lost nothing of the Martyr's title and reward. He was none the less a Martyr, because God gave him back the life he had laid down, and granted him to spend the years so given to him, and to end them, tranquilly.

So, too, as regards the cause for which he suffered. It might be, and it generally was, the case that he had to choose between death and a denial of the true nature of God or of the Divinity of Christ. There were those who died rather than burn incense before idols, as there were those who died rather than abjure their belief that Christ was God. There were those who were put to death through hatred of God or Christ, and to whom no choice was given. Then, again, it happened frequently that sufferings were endured and death was undergone at the hands of men who, themselves, believed rightly in Christ and God, but rejected and persecuted some doctrine which God taught. They condemned holy images, for instance, or they held wrong views about Sacraments, or they repudiated the authority of the Pope; and they would compel others to hold what they themselves held. Their victims

were revered as Martyrs by the Church. And, finally, there were cases often in which mere speculative beliefs were nowise called in question. Men and women were urged to violate God's law in practice, though permitted to accept and to profess whatever theories they would; and, if they suffered death or deathly tortures, rather than yield and sin, they, too, were placed among the Martyrs, and received a Martyr's cultus from the Christian Church.

In all these various acceptations, the underlying concept, we can perceive, is unvaryingly the same: A Martyr is one who offers up life, not in wish only, but in effect as well, for God—for his belief in what God has revealed, or his love of what God wills.

And, hence, the wide diversity between Martyrdom and Martyrdom, between the causes and the methods and the issues discoverable in each. St. John the Baptist is a Martyr: his blood was shed, because he had publicly condemned a sinner and his sin. St. John the Evangelist is a Martyr: he was only saved by miracle from the death which must have followed on his sufferings for the Faith. St. Marcellus is a Martyr: he died, worn out by the prolonged menial labours which were imposed upon him, but it is not recorded that any special violence was employed to bring about his death.

These being the conditions under which the title of Martyr is bestowed, it would seem easy of proof that the title has been deserved by those whose sufferings and death are recorded in the following pages.

In the first place they were witnesses, in their sufferings, to a truth which the Catholic Church holds as an article

of Christian faith. Their offence was profession of the faith that the Catholic Church, governed by the Roman Pontiff, is the Church of Christ, and that to the Church thus governed the obedience and loyalty of Christians is due. In the earlier years of the persecution to which the Catholics of Ireland were subjected, their fidelity to this truth of faith was tested by their acceptance or rejection of the doctrine of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. For rejecting this doctrine and professing their belief in the headship of the Pope as ordained by Christ, the punishment of death was inflicted on them. Later on, as will be seen from the text of the Penal Laws, which is printed as a suitable introduction to this volume, they were punished as 'Papists.' The laws were framed against 'Papists,' and especially against the ministers of the Church which was designated by that term.

Now, what is a Papist? Nothing other than a spiritual subject of the Pope, one who holds as a truth of faith that the Roman Pontiff is the head of the Church of Christ, and who yields him obedience accordingly.

For this belief they were punished. We have the proof of this in every text of the laws under which they suffered. The crime for which imprisonment, confiscation of property, and death were assigned as penalties by formal statute was that of being a 'Papist,' or of holding ecclesiastical rank or discharging ecclesiastical functions in the Church of the 'Papists.' The agents of the law understood this to be its spirit and purport. For we find them, not unfrequently, offering the prisoners, under sentence of death, life, liberty, and worldly preferment, if they would

renounce their allegiance to the 'Papist' Church and conform to that by law established.

It might, perhaps, be urged against the view which regards the persecution carried out in Ireland under the Penal Laws as a persecution for religion, that a scheme of State policy underlay and prompted the whole system of penal legislation. The English Church had become antagonistic to the Roman Church; allegiance to the Church of Rome was a pledge of hostility to the English Church; and hostility to the English Church stimulated and strengthened hostility to the English government, which was a rooted passion in the Irish nation. To reconcile the Irish people to English rule, an effectual, if not a necessary, policy was to break down their allegiance to Rome; separation from Rome would undoubtedly have been the best way to destroy the influence of those traditions which in Ireland associated the Faith of the nation with its political independence.

All this may be true. We may willingly allow that rulers so keen-sighted as Elizabeth, Cromwell and William III., were quite alive to the political advantages which they might secure by forcing the Irish into the English Church. But this being allowed, the character of the persecution by which the Irish Catholics were tried, remains the same. It was still a religious persecution. The ulterior object which statesmen had in view may have been, in some sense, political. But the means immediately adopted, and which the Irish Catholics had to confront was a system of penal legislation directed avowedly against their religion. Under that system religion was distinctly

the offence punished, and for sake of religion the penalties of that code were endured. The Roman Emperors, in their attempts to suppress Christianity were, we may admit, actuated by motives of State policy, rather than by any definite hatred of the peculiar doctrines or practices of the Christian faith. But the faith was the distinguishing mark of the Church they undertook to destroy, and the confession of the faith made Martyrs of those who died according to their laws.

Moreover, the penal code against the Catholic faith in Ireland was, in most of its provisions, a copy of the code framed against the Church in England. It can hardly be maintained that in England the persecution of the Church was begun or carried on to secure political ends; there is no reason, therefore, to look to politics to explain its extension to Ireland.

It will be observed that, in his account of the life and death of those whom he sets down as having suffered for the Catholic faith, the author does little more than put together the statements made by the best accessible authorities. This method of presenting his subject was rendered necessary by the conditions under which he wrote. He was appointed to collect evidence in reference to those who had died for the Faith in Ireland; as a result of his researches he was expected to offer evidence, not merely a dramatic account of events which lent themselves temptingly to literary treatment. He appears to have followed in each case the plan of selecting from existing accounts that which he deemed most authentic, and then referring the reader to other sources in which it might be

found corroborated or supplemented. He is sparing of statements made on his own authority—as became him under the circumstances—the notes which he adds are merely brief references to history or antiquities serving to illustrate or explain the texts he is quoting.

Finally, it will be noted that the names of a few Irishmen, who, during the period dealt with, laid down their lives for the Faith in other lands have been introduced into the volume. Their intimate connection with the Church in Ireland is doubtless the reason for this. They were children of the Irish Church and shared abundantly in the spirit which was alive within her in their day; if there is to be a roll of her Martyrs they may justly be allowed a place among the venerated names that fill it.

IN obedience to the Decree of His Holiness Pope Urban VIII., bearing date 13th March, 1625, forbidding the printing without the approbation of the Ordinary of any book which treats of the sanctity or repute of martyrdom of persons deceased, and to another Decree dated July 5th, 1631, explanatory of the same, the Author hereby declares that he claims for the following statements, whether they deal with the virtues of these martyrs, or treat of miracles wrought by them or on their behalf, no further authority than arises from merely human sources, and in no wise does he assert that they have received, either individually or collectively, any kind of formal approbation of the Church. In this and every other respect he submits this work without any reserve to the correction of the Holy See.

LIST OF MORE IMPORTANT WORKS QUOTED
FROM AND REFERRED TO.

*Dialogi Sex contra S. Pontificatus, Monasticæ vitæ, &c., oppug-
natores et pseudomartyres.* 1 vol. 4to; Antwerp, 1566. By
Nicholas Harpsfield (Alanus Copus). In the library of Trinity
College, Dublin.

Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliâ adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina. 2 vols. 8vo; Treves, 1583-1594. By John Bridgewater (Aquepontanus). The two first parts are in Marsh's library; the third in the Franciscan library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Historia Ecclesiastica de Martyrio Ordinis Minorum D. Francisci. Pars 4ta: De Martyrio Duorum Hibernorum Patrum. 1 vol. 12mo; Ingolstadt, 1583. By Thomas Bouchier, O.S.F. I have a copy of this book.

Annals of Loch Cé. An Irish MS. written in 1588. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Published with an English translation in the Rolls' Series, 1871.

De Schismate Anglicano. 1 vol. 8vo; Cologne, 1585. By Nicholas Sander, Papal Legate to Ireland. In Marsh's library, Dublin.

De Visibili Monarchiâ Ecclesiæ. 1 vol. folio; Würzburg, 1592. By the same Author. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis. 1 vol. 4to; Antwerp, 1591. By Richard Verstegan. I have a copy of this book.

De Signis Ecclesiae. 1 vol. folio; Rome, 1591. By Thomas Bozius, an Oratorian. In the library of Trinity College.

A Catholic Conference between Sir Thady Mac Mareall, a popish priest of Waterford, and Patrick Plaine, a young Student in Trinity College, near Dublin. 1 vol. 4to; London, 1612. By Barnaby Rych, gent., servant to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. In the library of Trinity College.

Menologium Cisterciense. 1 vol. folio; Antwerp, 1630. By Chrisostom Henriquez, Historiographer of the Order. In the library of the British Museum.

Annals of the Four Masters. An Irish MS. written in 1636 by the Franciscans of Donegal. Edited with an English translation by O'Donovan. 7 vols. 4to; Dublin, 1856.

Palma Fidei S. Ordinis Prædicatorum. Antwerp, 1635. By Peter Malphæus, O.P.

Imago Primi Sæculi Societatis Jesu. 1 vol. folio; Antwerp, 1640. In the library S.J., Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii S. Crucis in Hibernia and Synopsis nonnullorum sanctorum illustriumque Hibernorum Monachorum Cisterciensium. A Latin MS. in the possession of the Archbishop of Cashel. I published this with an English translation, 1 vol. 4to, in 1891.

Brevis Synopsis Provinciæ Hiberniæ Fratrum Minorum de Observantia. A Latin MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum. 8 vols. folio; Rome, 1625-54. By Luke Wadding, O.S.F. In the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Scriptores Ordinis Minorum, quibus accessit syllabus eorum qui ex eodem Ordine pro fide Christi fortiter occubuerunt. 1 vol. folio; Rome, 1806. By the same writer. In the Franciscan library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Echo Sti. Norberti triumphantis. 1 vol.; Antwerp, 1629. By John Chrisostom Vander Sterre. In the library of the Præmonstatensian Abbey, Tongerlo.

Commentaria in Libros Machabæorum Canonicos. 1 vol. folio Lyons, 1651. By Peter Redan, S.J. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The second volume of this work in manuscript is in the library of the University of Salamanca.

Initium, Incrementa, et Exitus Familiæ Geraldinorum, Desmonie Comitum . . . ac Persecutionis Hæreticorum Descriptio. 1 vol. 12mo; Lisbon, 1655. By Dominic à Rosario O'Daly, O.P. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin. A translation of this work by Rev. C. P. Meehan was printed in 1848.

Catalogus Religiosorum Societatis Jesu qui ab hæreticis, Mahumetanis aliisque impiis pro Catholica fide ac pietate interempti sunt ab anno MDXLIX usque ad annum MDCXL. 1 vol. folio; Rome, 1657. By Philip Alegambe, S.J.; continued to MDCLV, by John Nadasi, S.J. In the Jesuit library, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Britannomachia Ministrorum in pierisque et fidei fundamentis et fidei articulis dissidentium. 1 vol. 4to; Douay, 1614. By Henry Fitzsimon, S.J. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Brevis Præmunitio pro futura Concertatione cum Jacobo Usserio. 1 vol. 8vo; Douay, 1615. By Richard Stanihurst, S.J. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Apologia pro Hibernia adversus Cambri calumnias. A MS. in the Burgundian library, Brussels, written about 1615. By Stephen White, S.J. Published by Rev. Matthew Kelly in 1849.

Analecta Nova et Mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia pro fide et religione gestis. 1 vol. 8vo; Cologne, 1616-1619. By David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory from 1618 to 1650. Reprinted in 1884.

Catalogus præcipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniæ. 1 vol. 8vo; Liège, 1619. By Henry Fitzsimon, S.J. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

A Mnemosynum to the Catholics of Ireland. 1 vol. 8vo; Paris, 1620. By John Copinger, a Cork priest. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Theatre of the Catholic and Protestant Religion. 1 vol. 8vo; 1620. By the same Author. The part of the work treating of the Irish Martyrs under Elizabeth is reprinted in Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, iii., 35-44.

Annus Cisterciensis. 2 vols. 8vo; Wettengen, 1620. By a Monk of that Monastery. In the Cistercian Monastery, Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea.

Brevis Synopsis Provinciæ Hiberniæ FF. Minorum de Observantia. MS. in the Library of the Franciscan Fathers, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. The original, written about 1620, is in the Burgundian library, Brussels. By F. Francis Ward, O.S.F.

Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernici Compendium. 1 vol. 8vo; Lisbon, 1621. By Philip O'Sullivan Beare. In the library of Maynooth College. Reprinted in 1850.

Decas Patriciana; Sive libri decem in quibus de S. Patricii vita . . . de Hiberni casibus, constantia agitur. 1 vol. 8vo; Madrid, 1624. By the same Author. In the library of Maynooth College.

Idea Togata Constantiæ, cui adjungitur Epitome Tripartita Martyrum fere omnium qui in Britannicis insulis nostra patrumque memoria de heresi gloriose triumpharunt. 1 vol. 8vo; Paris, 1629. By John Molanus, a native of Cork, Professor of the Sorbonne. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, sive Planctus Universalis totius Cleri et Populi Regni Hiberniæ. 1 vol. 12mo; Innsbruck, 1659. By F. M. Morison, O.S.F. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Alithinologia sive Veridica Responsio ad Invektivam R.P.R.F.C. 1 vol. 4to; S. Malou, 1664, and Supplement, 1667. By John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

De Præsulibus Hiberniæ. A Latin MS. by the same Author. The original is in the Bodleian library, Oxford. There is a copy in the library of Trinity College.

Decor Carmeli Religiosi Lyons, 1665. By R. F. Philip à SSma. Trinitate. In the library of the Discalced Carmelites, Bruges.

Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis. Catalogus Martyrum Hibernorum pro defensione Catholicæ fidei occisorum regnantibus Henrico VIII., Edwardo VI., Elizabetha, et Jacobo. 1 vol. 8vo; Prague, 1669. By R. P. Antony Bruodin, O.S.F. In the Franciscan library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitæ profusionem militans. 1 vol. fol.; Prague, 1675. By Matthew Tanner, S.J. In the Jesuit library, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Theologia Tripartita Universa. 1 vol. folio; Antwerp, 1686. By Richard Arsdekin, S.J. In the same library.

Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniæ. 1 vol. 4to; Rome, 1690. By Francis Porter, Ord. Min. In the library of the R.I. Academy, Dublin.

Menologium . . . Sanctorum, Beatorum, Martyrum ex triplici Ordine Fratrum Minorum. 1 vol. folio; Münster, 1696. By Fortunatus Hueber, O.S.F. In the Franciscan library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Epilogus Chronologicus exponens succinate conventus Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum in Hibernia. 1 vol. 4to; Louvain, 1706. By John O'Heyne, O.P. In the Dominican Convent, Galway.

Historia Societatis Jesu, pars v. ab anno MDCL. ad ann. MDCXVI. 1 vol. folio; Rome, 1710. By Joseph Jouveny, S.J. In the Jesuit library, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Noticias Historicas de las Tres Provincias del Orden de la SSma. Trinidad en Inglaterra Escocia y Hibernia. 1 vol. fol.; Madrid, 1714. By Domingo Lopez, Ord. Trin. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Euchyridion Chronologicum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Cong. Italiae. Rome, 1737. By Eusebius ab oibus Sanctis. In the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, Bruges.

Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics that suffered death in England on religious accounts from 1577 to 1684. 1 vol. 8vo; Manchester, 1741. By Dr. Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Hibernia Dominicana, sive Historia Provinciae Hiberniae Ordinis Prædicatorum. 1 vol. 4to; Cologne (Kilkenny), 1762. By Thomas De Burgo, Bishop of Ossory.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., AND MARY.
(1539-1558).

Marriage of Henry VIII.—Acts of Parliament—The King Head of the Church—Brown—Acts of the Irish Parliament—The Proctors—Other Acts—Suppression of Monasteries—Extract from the *Four Masters*—The New Liturgy—Laws Repealed—Cardinal Pole.

ON January 25th, 1533, Henry VIII. was married privately to Anne Boleyn, though at the time he was under citation to answer Queen Catharine's appeal before the Roman tribunal. Fourteen months later, Pope Clement VII. declared the marriage with Catharine to be valid, and passed sentence of excommunication on Henry if he did not obey this decree. The King, anticipating the decision, had already determined to reject the Pope's authority and to establish an independent Church within his own realms. One act of parliament after another was passed with this object;¹ appeals to Rome in cases of wills, marriage, and divorce were forbidden under penalty of præmunire.² So too the presentation of Bishops to the Pope and the procuring of Bulls for their consecration; and the clergy were required to continue their ministrations in spite of the censures of the Holy See, under pain of one year's imprisonment.

The headship of the Church, taken from the Pope by the above enactments, was soon after transferred to the Crown. It was

¹ See Lilly and Wallis' *Manual of Laws affecting Catholics*. London, 1893.

² A writ calling on the person to answer for the contempt with which he was charged; if he refused to do so, he lost all civil rights and could be slain by anyone with impunity.

enacted that the King, his heirs and successors, should be accepted as the only supreme Head of the Church in England, and have all the jurisdiction and authority belonging thereto, with full power to correct heresies, abuses, &c. A commission of Bishops and Doctors was appointed to declare the articles of faith which, when confirmed by his Majesty's letters patent, should be believed and accepted by all his subjects, and anyone teaching or maintaining matter contrary to the determination set forth by his Majesty, if a layman, should for the first offence be imprisoned for twenty days; for the second, he should abjure the realm; for the third, he should forfeit all his goods and be imprisoned for life. If he was a clergyman, he should be permitted to recant; at his refusal or second offence, he should abjure and bear a faggot¹; for the third offence, he was adjudged a heretic and should suffer the pain of death and forfeit all his goods to the King.

Henry would not confine 'the Gospel light that first dawned from Boleyn's eyes' within the limits of his own kingdom; he would have it shed its beneficent rays on those who sat in darkness in his lordship of Ireland too. He cast about for a fitting agent for this work, and he found one in an English apostate monk. Brown² had been an ardent supporter of the divorce. He must have been an able man, for he had filled important offices in the Augustinian Order to which he belonged. He had cast aside his vows and become a double-dyed apostate. Who could be better fitted in every way to be the apostle of the new creed? Just then, by a lucky chance, the archiepiscopal See of Dublin became vacant. Allen, a favourite of Wolsey, and, like his patron, a virulent enemy of the Kildare family, had been foully murdered on his way to England. The vacant place, the first, if not in name, at least in importance in the Irish church, was conferred on Brown. In due time he received episcopal consecration at the hands of Cranmer, his appointment not having been in any way whatever sanctioned by the Holy See. A Commission consisting of the Lord Chancellor, Brown, and Brabazon, was appointed to carry the King's wishes into effect. 'Having fallen absolutely from Rome in spiritual matters within

¹ A badge worn on the sleeve by those who had recanted their errors.

² See Renehan's *Collections on Irish Church History*, i. 163.

his dominion of England, now it was his royal will and pleasure to have his subjects in Ireland to obey his commands as in England.³ Yet in spite of all the aid that the temporal arm could lend him, Brown did not find the task set him a very easy one. He wrote to his master, in answer to a threat that 'another man of more virtue and honesty should be put in his place,' that 'he had endeavoured at the danger and hazard of his temporal life to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his Highness their Supreme Head, as well in spiritual as in temporal, and did find much oppugning therein, especially by his brother of Armagh.'⁴ This island hath for a long time been held in ignorance by the Romish Orders. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the Gospel.⁵ He suggested that a parliament should be summoned to pass the Act of Supremacy.

The parliament met on May 1st, 1537, in Dublin.⁶ Brown set before the members in plain language the wishes of the King. 'Your obedience to your King is the observance of your God and Saviour Christ, for He, that High Priest of your souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian. Greater honour then, surely, to your Prince, his Highness the King, who is a Christian one. So that I shall without scruple vote his Highness King Henry supreme over ecclesiastical matters as well as temporal, and that without guilt of conscience or sin to God, and he who will not pass this act as I do, is no true subject to his Highness.'⁷ In this session, 28 Henry VIII., two acts were passed, the Act of Supremacy, c. 5, and the Act of Appeals, c. 6:—

V. The King, his heirs and successors, Kings of England and lords of Ireland,⁸ shall be accepted and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the whole Church of Ireland.

³ Cromwell to Brown, Nov. 28th, 1535. *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 596.

⁴ George Cromer. See Renehan's *Collections*, i. 2.

⁵ *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 596.

⁶ It held sittings also in Kilkenny, Cashel, and Limerick, and continued till December 20th of the same year.

⁷ *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 596.

⁸ It was only in 1542, 33 Henry VIII. c. 1., that Henry was made King of Ireland.

VI. No one shall pursue or execute any appeal to or from the Bishop of Rome, or to or from any other that claim authority by reason of the same, for any case or cause whatsoever, the offenders, their aiders, counsellors, and abettors incurring the penalty of *præmunire*.

The King's agents complained bitterly to Cromwell 'of the opposition of the spirituality.' 'The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy from the beginning of the parliament and at this session, both of them, the bishops, and abbots, was such that his lordship should be advertised thereof. . . . Considering their obstinacy, we thought it good to prorogue the parliament for this time, and against the next session to provide a remedy for them.'¹ It was the custom to summon two spiritual proctors from each diocese, whose special duty it was when controverted questions arose, bearing in any way on religion or Church matters, to state what was the teaching and practice of the Church, and without their consent nothing could be enacted in any parliament. It was now enacted by 28 Henry VIII. c. 12, that 'none of the said proctors should be members of the parliament, nor give, nor have any voice, or assent to any act or ordinance enacted in any parliament, but only as counsellors or assistants of the same.'

The influence and power of the 'spirituality' being thus weakened, the King's agents thought they could safely go farther, and in the next session two more acts were passed, 28 Henry VIII. c. 13 and 16, one against the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the other for the suppression of abbeys.

I. Anyone who by writing, preaching, teaching, or by any other act shall maintain the authority and jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome, or their aiders, shall for every such offence incur the penalties of *præmunire*.

IV. Archbishops, bishops, &c., in their visitations shall make diligent inquiry of all ecclesiastical and religious persons suspected of being transgressors of this Act; and if found guilty, they shall suffer the penalties expressed in the said statute. . . .

¹ Lord Leonard Grey, the Lord Deputy, to Cromwell, May 18th, 1537. *State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, II. 437.

VI. Every officer, lay and ecclesiastical, shall take oath that he henceforth renounce the Bishop of Rome and his jurisdiction, and accept the King to be only supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland.

VII. Every religious person at his entry into religion, and every other ecclesiastical person at his taking orders, and every one promoted to any degree of learning in any university in the land, at his promotion or preferment shall take the same oath.

VIII. Any one commanded to take the said oath, obstinately refusing to do so, shall suffer the pains of death and other penalties in cases of high treason.

The Act for the Suppression of Monasteries ordained that—

I. His Majesty shall have to himself and his heirs for ever the monasteries of Bective, S. Peter's beside Trim, Duiske,¹ Duleek, Holmpatrick, Baltinglass, Grane, Taghmolin, Dunbrodie, Tintern, Ballybogane, and the abbey of the Hogges,² and Fernes, and the sites of every such religious house, with their lands, tenements, services, &c.

III. The King's Highness shall have to his own use all such ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels, and debts which belong in any way to the chief governors of the said monasteries.

And as if in mockery of the forlorn condition to which he had brought the inmates of these monasteries, the Act goes on to say:—

His Highness of his most excellent charity is pleased to provide for every chief head of every religious house during their lives such yearly pension as shall be reasonable, wherein his Highness shall have most tender respect to such said chief governors. His Majesty will provide that the convents of such religious houses shall have their capacity, if they will, to live honestly or virtuously abroad, or shall be committed to such great monasteries of this land wherein good religion is observed as shall be limited by his Highness or his Councillors, there to live religiously during their lives.

The Commission mentioned above had reported that 'in the monasteries the praise of God and the welfare of man are next to nothing regarded, the regulars and nuns dwelling therein being so addicted to their own superstitious ceremonies, to the pernicious worship of idols, and to the pestiferous doctrines of the Romish

¹ Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.

² Founded for Augustinian Nuns by Dermot McMorrough in 1149. It was on the south side of the present College Green, Dublin.

Pontiff . . . and for their better reformation all the religious men and women were to be removed from the religious houses, and caused to return to some honest way of living.¹

To show the manner in which the new laws would be enforced, the Deputy set out from the capital 'on a martial course, a victorious circuit round about the whole kingdom.'² 'At Waterford we kept sessions, where were put to execution four felons, accompanied with another thief, a friar,³ whom we commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows for a mirror to all his brethren to live truly.'⁴

In 1542, another Act, 33 Henry VIII. c. 5, was passed, suppressing Kilmainham⁵ and the other monasteries; those, namely, which had not been seized in virtue of the Act passed five years before were now declared to belong to the King.

Here is the description of the ruin brought on the religious houses by the new legislation, as given in the *Annals of the Four Masters* :—

A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of scientific and philosophical speculations, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope of Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and adopting the Old Law of Moses after the manner of the Jewish people, they gave the title of head of the Church of God during his reign to the King. There were enacted by the King and Council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the Orders who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz., monks, canons regular,⁶ nuns, and brethren of the Cross,⁷ and also the four mendicant Orders, the Franciscans, the Preachers, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians. The possessions and livings

¹ See Cobbett's *History of the Protestant Reformation*, lett. 5.

² Davis, *Discovery of the True Reasons*, p. 238.

³ 'Friars have the chiefest and highest rooms at feasts amongst the Irishrie, and why should we not give them like honour on the gallows?' Derrick's *Image of Ireland*, p. 54.

⁴ *State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, iii. 114.

⁵ Founded about 1174 by Strongbow for Knights Templars. It stood on the site now occupied by the Royal Hospital.

⁶ De Burgo says there were 231 houses of this Order in Ireland. *Hib. Dom.*, p. 726.

⁷ Called Crutched, i.e., Crossed, Friars, because they wore a red and blue cross on their white habit. The Order was founded by St. John De Matha in 1189. They are also called Trinitarians.

of all of these were taken up for the King. They broke into the monasteries, they sold the roofs and bells; so that there was not a monastery from Aran of the Saints to the Iccian Sea that was not broken and scattered, except only a few in Ireland, which escaped the notice and attention of the English.¹ They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of the Saints of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary which was at Ath Truim,² which used to perform wonders and miracles, and at which were healed the blind, the deaf, the lame, and sufferers from all diseases, and the staff of Jesus,³ which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the days of St. Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ when he was among men. They also made archbishops and bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman Emperors against the Church, it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came upon the world; so that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description unless it should be told by one who saw it.

No parliament was held in Ireland during the reign of Edward VI., from 1547 to 1553. But in 1550 a proclamation was sent to Ireland ordering the liturgy to be translated into English, that all might the better join therein.⁴ St. Leger, the Deputy, assembled the Bishops and made known to them the King's order that the English liturgy should be used in all the churches. Dowdall,⁵ whom Henry had appointed to the primacy on Cromer's death, opposed the innovation and refused to obey the order. Brown, however, read it in Christ Church on the Easter Sunday following, and preached a sermon, taking for his text the 18th verse of the 119th psalm: 'Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.' He was rewarded for his zeal by being promoted to the primacy, which was transferred by royal order to Dublin. Dowdall was deprived of his See of Armagh and driven into exile. He was restored, however, by papal authority in the next reign. When the news of the King's death reached Kilkenny, we are told the people flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, set the bells ringing, brought out incense and holy water, and

¹ As those of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, which were not 'surveyed' till after the flight of the Earls.

² See Butler's *Notices of Trim*, p. 192.

³ See Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 122 and 263, and the *Book of Obits of Christ Church*, Introd. viii.

⁴ *Harleian Miscell.*, v. 690.

⁵ See his *Life* in Renchan's *Collections*, i. 4.

formed once more a Catholic procession, chanting the *Sancta Maria* and *Ora pro nobis*.¹

Early in the reign of Philip² and Mary³ the laws made against the Apostolic See during the preceding reigns were repealed. The Bishops who had been banished from their Sees returned, and the desecrated churches were again restored to their ancient uses. In the Instructions given to the new Deputy, Sir Thomas Ratchliffe, 'he and the Council were required by their example and all good means possible to set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's Holiness and the See Apostolic of Rome, and from time to time to be ready with their aid and secular force at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, there to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors, and to assist the Commissioners of the Legate Cardinal Pole, when visiting the clergy of Ireland.'⁴ At the Sovereigns' request, powers were given to Cardinal Pole to deal with those who held ecclesiastical property by dispensation, 'taking away all matter of trouble and danger which by reason of any general Council or decree ecclesiastical might touch the possessor of such goods and lands.'⁵ 'But though the Queen strove to support and extend the Catholic faith in Ireland, her lieutenants and advisers did not cease to inflict injuries on the Irish.'⁶

¹ See 'The Vocacyon of John Bale.' *Harl. Miscell.*, vi. 452.

² Philip, King of Spain, the firmest bulwark of the Christian religion and of the Catholic Church, moved with compassion on account of the calamities that had befallen the Church of Ireland, made a most magnificent provision for the faith of the island almost rooted out, by establishing and endowing seminaries for the training of youth in learning to be raised to sacred orders, in order that priests trained there may return to Ireland and keep safe in the harbour of the Catholic faith the people, who are tossed about by the fierce tempest. The seminaries of Compostella and Salamanca were founded by him.' O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 295.

³ 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 8.

⁴ See Mant, *H. of the Church of Ireland*, i. 243.

⁵ The decree of Cardinal Pole conveying the papal dispensation dated Lambeth, May 6th, 1557, is given in the *Irish Statutes*, i. 253.

⁶ O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 92.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH. (1558-1603).

Instructions to the Deputy—Acts of Parliament—Members—Trick of the Speaker—Oath of Supremacy—Act of Uniformity—Parliament Dissolved.

ELIZABETH ascended the throne November 17th, 1558. For a while she concealed her real sentiments,¹ but she soon showed what they were. When sending over the Earl of Sussex as Deputy, she instructed him 'to set up the worship of God as it was in England, and to have such Statutes made as were lately made in England.'² A parliament accordingly was summoned to meet on January 11th, 1560. The first Act, 2 Eliz. c. 1, passed was in substance a re-enactment of the Act of Supremacy, 28 Henry VIII. c. 5. It repealed the laws made under Philip and Mary, and restored the Act of Appeal and the Act of Faculties, and further ordained that—

V. No foreign prince, prelate, &c., shall henceforth exercise any spiritual authority within the realm.

VI. Such jurisdiction shall be exercised by the Queen, her heirs and successors, who can depute those whom they think fit to exercise all manner of spiritual jurisdiction within the realm of Ireland.

VII. All archbishops, bishops, and every other ecclesiastical minister, and every temporal judge, officer, and every one having her Highness's wages within the realm, shall make oath and declare her Highness, her heirs and successors, the only supreme governor of the realm as well in spiritual things as in temporal.

VIII. Every archbishop, &c., refusing to take such oath shall lose every ecclesiastical and temporal office which he held, and be in future disabled from holding any such.

X. Any one suing livery³ out of the Queen's hands, or taking orders, or

¹ See Lingard's *H. of England*, v. 148.

² Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, i. 313, and *Liber Numerum Hibernie*, i. 113.

³ *i.e.*, entering into possession of his estates when he came of age.

promoted to any degree in any university, before taking orders, &c., shall take the like oath.

XII. Any one who by writing, printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deed, or act, advisedly, maliciously, and directly maintains the authority and jurisdiction of any foreign prince, prelate, &c., and their abettors, shall for the first offence forfeit all his goods and chattels real and personal, and if his goods and chattels do not amount to the value of £20, he shall suffer imprisonment for one year without bail, and lose all his benefices and dignities; for the second offence, he shall incur the penalty of præmunire; and for the third, he shall suffer the penalty of death, as in the cases of high treason.

We have the lists of the members of both Houses of the parliament in which this Act was passed.¹ Of the lay Lords, almost all were Catholics; some of them, as the Earls of Desmond and Viscount Baltinglass, later took up arms in defence of the faith.² In the Lower House the two provinces of Ulster and Connaught were almost without representatives. Munster had but twenty members. Fifty of those for Leinster were taken from the parts of the province most subject to the influence of the Government. Yet the majority openly declared their intention of refusing to support such a law. The Speaker of the Commons, Stanihurst of Corduff, had recourse to a trick to get it passed. It was announced that the parliament would not sit on a certain day. Meantime a private summons was sent to those who were known to be favourable to the new creed, and with their aid the law was passed. At the next meeting of the House there was a general protest against the injustice and fraud of the proceeding. But the Deputy having sworn solemnly that it would never be put into execution, the remonstrants consented that it should remain on the Statute Book.³

The form of oath enjoined by the above Act was:—

I do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor both of this realm and all other her Highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things and causes as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, state, or potentate hath

¹ In *Tracts relating to Ireland*, ii. 134, published by the Irish Arch. Society.

² Loftus in a report to the Queen in 1565, describes the nobility of the Pale as devoted to the ancient creed, and recommends that they should be 'fined in a good round sum and sharply dealt withal.' Shirley, *Original Letters*, p. 194.

³ So Rothe, *Analecta*, p. 234, and *Cambrensis Eversus*, iii. 19.

or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm. And therefore I do fully renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, power, superiority, and authorities.²

The other Act, 2 Eliz. c. 2, was styled the Act of Uniformity. It ordained that:—

I. The Book of Common Prayer, as authorized by 5 and 6 Edward VI., shall be in full force in Ireland.

II. All ministers of cathedral and parish churches shall be bound to say and use all their common prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book; and any one refusing to use it or using any other rite of administration of the sacraments or open prayers, or speak in derogation of it, being lawfully convicted, shall forfeit for the first offence one year's profit of all his spiritual benefices; for the second, he shall suffer imprisonment for six months; for the third, loss of all his spiritual promotions and imprisonment for life.

III. All persons having no reasonable excuse to be absent shall resort to their parish church where common prayer shall be used on every Sunday or holiday, upon pain of censure² by the church and forfeiture for said offence of the sum of twelve pence.³

After sitting for only three weeks this parliament was dissolved on February 1st, 'by reason of aversion to the Protestant religion and their ecclesiastical government.'⁴ Ware's testimony is to the same effect: 'At the very beginning of this parliament Her Majesty's well-wishers found that most of the nobility and commons were divided in opinion about the ecclesiastical government, which caused the Earl of Sussex to dissolve them and go over to England to consult Her Majesty about the affairs of the kingdom.'⁵

¹ 2 Eliz. c. 1. This is the oath of Supremacy often mentioned later.

² The ruinous effect of these censures in the case of some Dublin merchants is described by Rothe, *Analecta*, p. 33.

³ This sum generally rose to ten shillings by the contrivances of those who levied it. See Letter of Sir John Davis, May 4th, 1606, in *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* (1603-6), p. 466, and (1606-8), preface, lxxviii.

⁴ Loftus MS. in Marsh's Library, ad ann.

⁵ *Annals*, ad ann.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF JAMES I. (1603-1625).

Hopes of the Catholics—Mountjoy in Munster—Act of Oblivion—Proclamation—Dublin Aldermen Fined—Meeting of the Nobility and Gentry—Letter of the Dublin Clergy—Form of Oath—Brief of Pope Pius V.—Flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell—Knox—Proclamation—Letter of Dr. Kearney—Parliament Summoned—King's Speech to the Deputies—Acts Passed—St. John Deputy—Proclamation—Court of Wards—The Fitzgeralds and Butlers—Livery of Estates.

ON the death of Elizabeth, March 23rd, 1603, James I. ascended the throne of England. The Catholics, both in England and Ireland, hoped for toleration at least from the son of Mary Stuart. The Irish remembered too that he was descended from their ancient kings,¹ and thought he would sympathise with those of his own race. Moreover, during the last year of the late sovereign's reign they had received assurances of his kindly intentions from the agents whom he had sent over to promote his interests. To gain the goodwill of the Pope and of the Catholic Princes, who had often protested against the severity of the penal laws, he let them know that he would mitigate the harshness of these laws against his Catholic subjects.² So sure were the Irish of something like a return to the old state of things, that they took possession of the churches in Waterford, Cashel, Cork, and Limerick, and indeed throughout a great part of Munster, and in Wexford and Kilkenny reconciled them solemnly, and carried on the offices with all the pomp of former times, 'being resolved no longer to practise their religion in private, but to profess and pro-

¹ See James' address to the Irish agents at Whitehall, April 12th, 1614, in Cox, *Hib. Anglic.*, ii. 29, O'Flaherty's Dedication of the *Ogygia* to James, Duke of York, and *Camb. Evers.*, iii. 53.

² Dodd's *Church H. of England*, iv. 36.

claim it to the whole world.'³ Mountjoy, the Deputy, when told of what had taken place, expressed his surprise at the 'boldness of the towns and corporations, who out of their own heads had set up the public exercise of the Popish worship. If they did not desist from the public breach of his Majesty's laws in the celebration of the Mass, he would think them fit to be prosecuted with the avenging sword of his Majesty's forces.' He set off for the south at the head of a formidable army, and coming before Waterford he demanded admission. The citizens, relying on the privileges given them by an ancient charter, refused to admit his army; they would gladly admit him and his suite. He told them that if they did not presently open the gates to him and his army, 'he would cut King John's charter with King James' sword, and that if he entered the town by force, he would ruin it and strew salt on the ruins.'⁴ In Cork, which he declared to be the most insolent of all,⁵ he met with still more resistance. But he soon suppressed it, and left in this and each of the other cities a force of 150 men to check any further attempts.

To calm the popular excitement, a general Act of Oblivion was passed under the Great Seal, whereby all offences against the Crown before his Majesty's reign were, to all who would claim the benefit of the Act, pardoned, never to be called in question, and all the Irishry were received into his Majesty's immediate protection.⁶ But a proclamation⁷ issued by the King on July 4th, 1605, dashed their hopes to the ground. In it he said:—

His subjects in Ireland had been much abused by an untrue report that he proposed giving freedom of conscience or toleration in that kingdom, contrary to the Statutes therein enacted and to that uniformity of religion constantly professed by him. . . . He therefore thought it meet to publish his high displeasure with the report, and his resolve never to do any act that may confirm the hopes of any creature that they shall ever have from him any toleration to exercise any other religion than that which is established by the laws of the realm. . . . He commands those of his realm from henceforth

³ *Camb. Evers.*, iii. 523.

⁴ Moryson's *Rebellion*, p. 293, and *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶ Davis' *Discovery*, &c., p. 261.

⁷ *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 301.

duly to come to their several parish churches to hear divine service every Sunday and holiday according to the tenor of the laws, upon the pains and penalties contained therein, which he will have henceforth duly put in execution. All priests, Jesuits, seminary priests, or other priests ordained by any authority from Rome, should, before the 10th December next, depart out of the kingdom of Ireland, and they should not return under pain of his high displeasure and such other penalty as might be justly inflicted on them by the laws of that realm; and upon the like pains he forbade his subjects to receive or relieve any such persons as would remain or return.¹

A petition of the nobility and gentry of the Pale was sent to the Deputy, asking 'to have the execution of this order for the banishment of the priests suspended until his Majesty should be made better acquainted with their innocency, so that he would not force their consciences.'² Instead of suspending it, another was issued threatening offenders not only with all the penalties of 2 Eliz., but also with 'such further punishments as may be lawfully inflicted upon the wilful contemners of his Majesty's royal commands, proclamations, and prerogatives.'³ Mandates were issued in the King's name to sixteen of the chief Aldermen and citizens to attend the Mayor to Christ Church to hear the divine service, and to present themselves there before the Deputy and Council.⁴ As they failed to attend, they were summoned before the Court of Castle Chamber, and nine were fined, six in £100 each, the others in £50, and all were committed prisoners to the Castle during the Court's pleasure.⁵ Seeing their property threatened, they made it over to their children and friends; but the Judges declared the transfer void and of no effect against the King's execution. Soon after the others were fined in like manner and imprisoned. It was ordered at the same time that none of the citizens should bear office till they had conformed.⁶ A meeting

¹ On the illegality of this part of the Proclamation, see preface to *C.S.P.I.* (1606-1608), lxxiii. Its object was to bring the Recusants within the grasp of the Star Chamber. *Ibid.*, lxxx.

² *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 356.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 353 and 402.

⁶ Harris, *History of Dublin*, p. 332. To console the constant followers of Christ now afflicted for religion, F. FitzSimon, S.J., wrote them a letter: 'An Answer to Sundrie Complaineive Letters of afflicted Catholics declaring the Severities of divers late Proclamations.'

of the nobility and gentry was held to make a public protest against the illegal nature of the Deputy's action. Those who were deputed to present the protest were imprisoned by the Deputy; others were ordered to confine themselves to their houses until they were summoned before the Court, and all were rebuked severely for having dared to oppose any rights or laws to the royal prerogative, which was inviolable.¹ The King approved of the punishment and 'thought it not only just but necessary, conceiving a hope that many by such means would be brought to conformity (in religion), who perhaps will give thanks to God and him for being drawn by so gentle a constraint to their own good.'²

The persecution was not confined to Dublin. 'Bodies of soldiers are dispersed throughout the country in pursuit of priests, and those they seize on, they have the power by martial law of hanging without further trial. . . . The fines are solely according to the whim of each questor. If the person fined says he cannot pay the fine, the questor goes to his house. Whatever he finds he seizes on, whether in clothing or cattle. Hence those who are rich become on a sudden reduced to abject poverty, and yet they dare not murmur. The poorer people are fined ten pence for each time they are absent on festivals from the Protestant service, and as the heretics multiply those festivals, the little property the people have is totally wasted away.'³ 'There are already in prison one bishop, one vicar general, some religious, very many priests, and an immense number of the laity of every class and condition.'⁴

Availing of the anger of the English people against the Catholics roused by the Gunpowder Plot, the King issued a new form of oath to be taken by all his Majesty's subjects. Some Catholics asserted it was lawful to take this oath, with the intention of

¹ Letter of F. Holywood, S.J., Dec. 10th, 1605, in Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, p. 421.

² *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernia*, i. 465.

³ See Sir John Davis' 'Observations after a journey made by him in Munster,' *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 463. The sum levied for fines in Cork during this journey amounted to nearly £1,000. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-1608), preface, xciii.

⁴ Letter of the Dublin Clergy to their agent in Rome, May, 1607, in Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 231.

binding oneself to nothing more than civil allegiance; others would not tolerate it. Pope Pius V., to whom the matter was referred, by a Brief addressed to the Catholics of England and Ireland, dated September 22nd, 1605, declared that from the very wording of the oath, 'it was evident that they could not take it with safety to their consciences and the Catholic faith.'¹ 'We warn you,' he added, 'to abstain from taking this and such like oaths, and we demand this from you the more confidently because we know the constancy of your faith, which, like gold in the furnace, has been tried by the fire of continual suffering, and we are sure you will gladly endure the bitterest torments and even death itself rather than offend the Majesty of God in any way. And our confidence is the greater seeing the constancy of your martyrs in later times is like that of the first ages of the Church.'² The King replied to the Pope by publishing a book bearing the title: *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*. FF. Bellarmin, Suarez, and Parsons, S.J., wrote replies to it.

In 1607, O'Neill and O'Donnell, with several other northern chiefs, fled from Ireland. O'Neill in his 'Declaration of Grievances'³ gives the reason why he left Ireland: 'He chose the lesser of two evils, for he thought it better to forego his country and his lands, and to make an honourable escape with his life⁴ and liberty only, than by staying with dishonour and indignity to lose his life, living, and country, which in very deed he feared very much.' And O'Donnell: 'The Lord Deputy told me in presence of many noblemen and gentlemen that I must resolve to go to church, or else should be forced to go thereto. Which threatening speech wrought that impression on my heart, that for this only respect of not going to church I resolved rather to abandon lands and living, yea, all the kingdoms of the earth, with the loss of life, than be forced utterly against my conscience and

¹ It is given in O'Daly's *Persecutions*, p. 169, and in *Hib. Dom.*, p. 613.

² *Ibid.*, p. 614.

³ Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*, p. 129.

⁴ Sir Henry Docwra advertised Cecil of 'an enterprise that was undertaken for Tyrone's (O'Neill's) head. Two other parties undertook the like matter, but yet attempted nothing in the end.' See *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 9.

the utter ruin of my soul to any such practices.'¹ Their lands were parcelled out among English and Scotch Undertakers, who should be Protestants, and these were told 'they or their heirs should not alien any part thereof to the Irish or such who will not take the oath of Supremacy.'² But the work of conversion did not proceed quick enough to satisfy King James. He chose a new instrument for the purpose, a Scotchman named Andrew Knox, bishop of Orkney, whom he transferred to Raphoe. In 1611 Knox came to Ireland with full power to root out every trace of the Catholic religion. 'He was a tyrant far more fierce and savage than Chichester,' says De Burgo, 'and if he did not succeed in effecting his purpose, no one can doubt the malicious ingenuity of his designs or the severity of the means which he employed.'³

On the 7th of October, 1611, Chichester sent a report of the proceedings which took place in virtue of the King's letter, brought over by Knox a few months before: 'I caused the proclamation sent hither by the King in the year 1605, for banishing priests, &c., to be once more published, with some additions, declaring the cause of reviving it. By virtue whereof the titular Bishop of Downe⁴ and some few other Popish priests of note within the Pale have been apprehended. We will proceed against the said titular Bishop of Downe and some of the priests now in prison by course of law this next term in the Queen's Bench.'⁵ The proclamation was as follows:—

I. All papist religious and priests shall forthwith depart from the kingdom, under penalty of being put to death.

II. No one henceforth shall send his children or relations beyond the seas for education. Those who are abroad must return within a year, under penalty of the confiscation of their property.

¹ *Flight of the Earls*, p. 131.

² Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 83.

³ *Hib. Dom.*, pp. 27 and 617.

⁴ Cornelius O'Devany, put to death in 1612. Cox says four friars were arrested about the same time. *Hib. Augl.*, ii. 17.

⁵ *C.S.P.I.* (1611-1614), p. 142.

III. No papist shall dare to exercise the office of schoolmaster in the kingdom.

IV. Whosoever shall harbour a priest, in town or country, shall forfeit his property to the Crown.

V. Every one shall be present at our rites, ceremonies, &c., on Sundays and festivals.¹

To carry out the designs of Knox, every city, town, hamlet, and homestead, was visited by bands of perjurers, informers, assassins, while the Bishop himself went round with a troop of Puritanical attendants, and whoever fell into his hands had no escape from torments and death. No means was left unused to force the Catholics to frequent the heretical conventicles. Those who refused to do so were fined or thrown into prison. Some were deprived of their goods; others were driven into exile; others led to the scaffold. They employed all possible diligence in searching out the priests to put them to death. The Irish teachers and masters were everywhere expelled.² Dr. Kearney,³ writing to Cardinal Barberini, March 12th, 1612, says:—

We are exposed to the most imminent danger, for our adversaries are continually pursuing us. Troops of horse and foot are sent in pursuit of priests, with power to hang them from the nearest tree without formality of trial. The Catholic churches are handed over to Protestants. They likewise take special note of those who suffer their children to be baptized or married according to the Catholic ritual, and they persecute unrelentingly all harbourers of priests. Schoolmasters who train children in Catholic doctrines, are cruelly set upon and hunted down. . . . Those who present themselves for ordination we generally receive in some suitable place, where we erect portable altars, taking care not to trust ourselves to any but those in whom we have the greatest confidence—to-day in one town, and to-morrow in another. When the ceremony of ordination is ended, we lose no time in going to another place, in order to avoid risk, having first appointed trusty parties to remove the portable altars, and warned the ordained not to mention to any one the place where they had received Holy Orders, lest the master of the house might be brought to trouble. Our greatest difficulty, however, is the

¹ O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 286.

² *Hib. Dom.*, p. 618.

³ He was Archbishop of Cashel from 1605 to 1625. See his *Life* in *Renahan's Collections*, i. 275.

sacrament of Confirmation; for no sooner is it known that we are about to confer it than crowds of children come from all the neighbouring districts. In one day, between sunrise and sunset, we confirmed 2,200 in the neighbourhood of a forest and at nightfall in the village.¹

In 1613 a parliament² was summoned. During the twenty-seven years that had elapsed since the last parliament met, much had been done which, being illegal and arbitrary, needed to have the sanction of law. The Catholics, being still nearly the whole of the population, could return a large majority of their own creed. Chichester provided a remedy. He created thirty-nine new boroughs, a number sufficient to give a majority to the Government. When the Lower House met, the Catholics protested against these members taking any part in the business, as their election was illegal. But, as the Government party was now in a majority, they thought it wiser to enter a protest and withdraw, lest by their presence they might seem to countenance the penal enactments which had been sent over by the King to the Viceroy to be passed by the new parliament.³

The Catholics determined to lay their grievances before the King, and chose six delegates for the purpose, including two of the Upper House and one of the Lower. After a year's delay James gave them a final answer in presence of the Privy Council, addressing them a long harangue, a strange mixture of menaces and jibes, of solemn appeals and coarse buffoonery, and ending thus⁴:—

You that are of a contrary religion must not look to be the only law-makers: you that are but half subjects should have but half privileges; you that have an eye to me one way, and to the Pope another way; the Pope is your father in spiritualibus, and I in temporalibus only, and so have your bodies torn one way and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to

¹ Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 359. The original in Latin is among the Wadding papers in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

² A detailed account of this parliament will be found in *C.S.P.I.* (1611-1614), preface, xxxvi.

³ See Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 62. These are given in *Hib. Dom.*, p. 619, and in O'Daly's *Persecutions*, p. 180.

⁴ The speech is given in full in Cox's *Hib. Angl.*, ii. 25.

the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects, that you may have cor unum and viam unam, and then I shall respect you all alike. But your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your King. To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter of parliament you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and that your proceedings have been rude and disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in the parliament.

Two of the delegates were cast into prison and fined heavily.¹ A Commission of inquiry, however, was held, with the result that some of the members for the new boroughs were declared to have no right to sit. When the parliament resumed its sittings, October 13th, the two parties seem to have agreed to make mutual concessions. The intended penal Acts were not brought forward; on the other hand large subsidies were granted to the King, and an Act was passed attainting Hugh O'Neill, Hugh O'Donnell, Cahir O'Dogherty, and other northern chiefs, and confiscating their lands to the Crown.² How far the Catholics were responsible for the passing of such an Act, and whether they could prevent it, are questions which it is not easy to determine. The Government was very pleased with the result, for two great objects had been attained, a parliamentary recognition of the King's title to the escheated lands of Ulster together with a confirmation of the new settlement of that province, and the establishment of Protestant ascendancy in the boroughs, the provost and twelve chief burgesses who should elect the rest being in future such as would take the oath of Supremacy. The results Sir John Davis declared to be of such importance, that greater had not been effected in parliament these three hundred years.³ The Catholics were glad that the session had come to a speedy end, for they knew that any legislation emanating from such a parliament could not be other than hostile in the highest degree.

¹ Leland's *H. of Ireland*, ii. 451.

² 11, 12, and 13 James I. c. 3. See a letter of Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, on the injustice done by the Catholic members in acquiescing in this wrong, in Burke's *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 109.

³ Letter to the Earl of Somerset. See *C.S.P.I.* (1611-1614), p. 516.

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Catholics, their profession of loyalty, and their generosity in contributing to the subsidies demanded by the King, a proclamation was issued in May of the next year in which he declared he would never give toleration to any religion save that now sanctioned in Ireland. All Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, and 'Seminaries'¹ were ordered to withdraw from Ireland before September 1st, and should not return. If any transgressed these commands, the officers of justice were empowered to seize such offenders and confine them closely till the Viceroy consulted the Council on the punishment to be inflicted on them. The royal clemency would be extended to all who within nine days after the last day of September 30th would present themselves to the officers of justice and conform to the church.²

Oliver St. John succeeded Chichester³ as Deputy in 1619. Rothe comparing his policy with that of his predecessor, says the great object of the latter was to promote the plantation and to secure the new settlers in the lands taken from the Irish, and he seemed to care little about religion after he had seen the failure of his first attempts to pervert the people; he was often heard to say that 'he did not know how this attachment to the faith could be so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it was that the very soil was infected and the air tainted with popery, for they obstinately preferred it to everything else, to allegiance to the King, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects.'⁴ St. John's fixed purpose seemed to be to root out the Catholic faith, and he looked on the plantation only as a means towards that end. Special charge was given him to enforce the oath of Supremacy and the attendance of 'Recusants,'⁵ at the Protestant churches. He was heard to say

¹ This was the name given to those educated in foreign seminaries.

² i.e., become Protestants. The original is given in O'Daly's *Persecutions*, p. 185.

³ He was created Baron Chichester of Belfast in 1612, having received as his share of the spoil the whole of Inishowen, nearly 200,000 acres. See Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 62.

⁴ *Analecta*, p. 125.

⁵ i.e., those who refused to admit the royal Supremacy or assist at the new form of worship.

a few days before his installation, that in the course of a few years he would not leave a single papist in Ireland.¹ He blamed the officials for their remissness and too great lenity in dealing with Catholics, both clergy and laity. They should henceforth enforce the laws strictly; anyone neglecting to do so would feel the effects of his anger.² As a consequence, the prisons of Dublin and of the provincial towns were soon crowded with Catholics, who either refused to take the oath of Supremacy or were too poor to pay the fine levied on all who absented themselves from the Protestant service. In 1617, the proclamation of 1605 was renewed, and all subjects of the King were forbidden to entertain any Archbishop, &c., under threat of being punished as those who contemned the royal edicts. Sheriffs were ordered to search for such from time to time, and informers would receive half the penalty.³ The Deputy within a year was able to inform the English Privy Council that 'the most practising priests had transported themselves to the parts beyond the seas.'⁴

In the beginning of 1622 Henry Carey, Lord Falkland,⁵ came over as Deputy. During the earlier part of his administration, which lasted till the end of the reign of James I., the penal laws were enforced in a fitful manner, on account of the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta, the King of Spain insisting as a condition on the relaxation of these laws. 'Out of confidence in the (Spanish) match many magistrates were chosen in cities and corporate towns for sovereigns and mayors who were Recusants;⁶ and besides the titular bishops and the rest, divers friaries had been erected where sundry friars of several Orders reside . . . there being one of these convents

¹ O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 335. Cox says St. John 'behaved himself briskly against the Papists.' *Hib. Angl.*, ii. 33.

² *Analecta*, p. 216.

³ Franciscan MSS. Lord Inchiquin was imprisoned and fined £500 for entertaining one Nicholas Nugent, a Jesuit, in his house for twenty days and hearing of his Masses. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 122. About £4,000, equal to £20,000 of our money, was levied in fines on Catholics in Co. Cavan alone during one year. *Analecta*, p. 32.

⁴ *C.P.S.I.* (1615-1625), p. 242.

⁵ His wife was a convert to the Catholic faith, and remarkable for her charities. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Oct., 1894.

⁶ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 455.

here under the nose of the State in Dublin.'¹ In 1623, the negotiations for the marriage² being completely broken off, the persecution was renewed in England, and the laws were enforced, the penalty of death alone excepted, with as much severity as in any part of Elizabeth's reign.³ A proclamation was issued in Ireland soon after, commanding all laws to be put in execution against those 'who extolled the ecclesiastical power of any foreign Prelate within the kingdom, and banishing all supporters of such authority, whether secular or regular. All governors, sheriffs, were ordered to apprehend all Popish Archbishops, etc., and to imprison them till further order should be taken for their punishment.'⁴ A month later the King ordered the statute of Eliz. to be put into execution. Officers in cities and corporate towns should take the oath of Supremacy. All Recusants were to be proceeded against; and if they did not conform before the next sessions after their conviction, then they were to stand convicted. The ablest and most obstinate of those convicted were to be chosen out, upon whom the penalty of the law might be laid.⁵

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign a very simple yet withal efficient means was adopted by Chichester for the perversion of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and through them, it was hoped of the people, owing to their attachment to their chiefs. Their children were sent to England for their education. In the list of those to be brought over we find 'the Lord Barry's grandchild, 13 years old; Viscount Gormanstown's eldest son, 10 years old; the Lord Courcey's two sons; the Lord Delvin's son and heir, 13 years old; the Lord of Trimbleston's son and heir, 18 years old; the Lord of Dunboyne's grandchild, 13 years old; the Lord of Cahyr's nephew; the Lord Power himself, 15 years old.'⁶ In 1618 Camden who was head-master of the Westminster School, wrote to Ussher: 'I have brought to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Reilly, Shees, Peter Lombard, a mer-

¹ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625) p. 458.

² See Gardiner's *Spanish Marriage*, i. 309 ii. 235, 291.

³ Challoner's *Memoirs*, ii. 66.

⁴ *Lismore Papers*, 2nd Series, iii. 86.

⁵ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 419.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

chant's son of Waterford, and others bred popishly.¹ Yet young as they were, some of them at least were not found as tractable in the matter of religion as their instructors wished. Hence Cecil writes: 'I would be glad to hear what report is made of my usage of young Barry. I have placed him at the Dean's of Westminster. He is extreme popish for his age. Yet I have given order that he shall not be any ways strangely dealt with because of distrusting his father, although he refuse to go to church.'²

We have several instances recorded of parents objecting to part with their children, chiefly, no doubt, for motives of religion, though for obvious reasons they did not put these motives forward. Thus the widowed Countess of Kildare, whose husband Gerald, the fourteenth Earl, was supposed to have been poisoned³ by Chichester, tells the Privy Council 'how inconvenient and dangerous it would be for her son, the only child of his father, being but six years and a little more, to undergo such travel and remove, and having more need of a nurse than of any learning or breeding for a few years.'⁴ The Lord of Delvyn complained that 'his son was sickly and unfit to travel by sea.' The Viscount of Dunluce wrote that his son was 'but eight years old, and now the time of the year growing unseasonable to commit him to the sea, he humbly desired to be excused for this winter.'⁵

In 1622 King James established the Court of Wards in Ireland. An owner of land could not on his death-bed appoint a guardian to his heir of tender years. The King took possession of the heir and his estates, leaving the widow to maintain herself and the younger children of the family out of her dowry. He appointed a guardian, who had a right to sell his wardship and dispose of his ward in marriage. The object intended by the establishment of this Court was the 'increase of the revenue and the good education of the King's wards in religion and learning.' It was altogether illegal in Ireland, having no warrant from any law or statute as that of England had. Sir William Parsons, a cold, rigid, and

¹ Parr's *Life of Ussher*, Letters, p. 65.

² *C.S.P.I.* (1580-1600), p. 419. The date is Aug. 2nd, 1600.

³ O'Daly's *Persecutions*, p. 187.

⁴ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 210.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213.

wise man, but an inveterate enemy to the Catholic religion and Catholics,¹ was appointed the first Master of the Court, at an annual stipend of £300. The Court could confide the wards to whomsoever it pleased; but in every grant of wardship there was a clause that the guardian should not be a Recusant, and that the ward should be brought up 'in the College² near Dublin in English habits and religion,' and that he should not be allowed to marry a Recusant.³

Gerald, 15th Earl of Kildare, was but seven weeks old at the time of his father's death. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Delvin. 'I do not think it fit,' wrote Chichester, 'that the mother be permitted to have a hand in his education, her religion considered.'⁴ He was given in ward to the Duke of Lennox; but he died in his eighth year. He was succeeded by his cousin George, the sixteenth Earl, when only nine years old. He, too, was given in ward to the Duke of Lennox, and that nobleman took care to have him educated in the communion of the Church of England, in which this illustrious family have ever since continued.⁵ In this way the heir of the Geraldines and his descendants were robbed of the faith of their ancestors.

Very similar in substance is the history of the falling away of the Ormonde family from the faith. James, the Great Duke, as he was called, lost his father when he was but twelve years old. 'Sir William Parsons used to glory and urge it as a great merit to himself, that through an artifice he had found the means of entitling the King to the wardship, to which the young nobleman was not properly subject, having inherited no lands that were held in capite of the Crown.'⁶ He was confided to the keeping of Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, though he may have neglected the boy's education in other respects, no doubt took every care to have him well grounded in the new tenets.

But this was not all. The heirs of lands held under the Crown

¹ French, *Unkinde Deserter*, p. 35.

² Trinity College.

³ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 391.

⁴ *C.S.P.I.* (1611-1614), p. 245. The date is February 12th, 1612.

⁵ Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 121.

⁶ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 4.

were obliged, when they came of age, to sue out the livery of their lands in the Court of Wards, and the Court was forbidden to grant such livery to any one who had not previously taken the oath of Supremacy and an oath abjuring several articles of the Catholic creed. The Commissioners of Wards reported that 'they had found divers heirs, now of full age, formerly in ward to his Majesty, backward in the prosecution of their liveries out of his Highness's hand in order to avoid taking the oath of Supremacy; they have therefore made divers leases of their lands to good Protestants, until the said heirs shall duly and legally sue out their said liveries according to law . . . and by this manner of their proceedings they have gained some obstinate heirs to conform themselves in religion.'¹ The 'Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland,' delivered to his Majesty's Commissioners at Trim, March 17th, 1643, complains of 'the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Sir William Parsons and of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments in the Court of Wards, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that Court, by which the heirs of Catholic noblemen and other Catholics were most cruelly and tyrannically dealt withal, destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance, . . . their parents' debts left unsatisfied, their younger brothers and sisters left wholly unprovided for, estates rated in law and made for valuable considerations avoyded against law, and the whole land filled with frequent swarms of escheators, feodaries, pursuivants, and others by authority of that Court.'² It is evident that if this plan was pursued for two or three generations, it would either reduce all the Catholic landowners to absolute poverty or make them Protestants.

¹ *C.S.P.I.* (1615-1625), p. 172.

² *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, iii. 138.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF CHARLES I. (1625-1649).

Persecution in England—Offers of the Catholics—The Graces—Raid on the Franciscan Church—The House of Nuns—Strafford's Promises—Acts of the Parliament—Toleration.

CHARLES I. ascended the throne in 1625. 'This prince,' says Challoner, 'of his own nature, seems not to have been inclined to persecution, at least not so far as to come to the shedding of blood for religion; yet such was the iniquity of the times and the importunity of parliaments, ever complaining of the growth of popery and urging the execution of the laws, that he gave way to all manner of severities against his Catholic subjects and issued proclamation after proclamation for the executing of the laws against them. So that the generality of Catholics had a very bad time of it under his government.'¹ And as a fact, this author gives the names of forty persons, priests and laymen, who were put to death in England between 1626 and 1649.²

From the beginning of his reign the King was sorely in need of money, and the parliament would afford him no assistance except on terms which he thought subversive of the royal prerogatives. The Irish Catholics offered to supply an army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, provided their religion was tolerated,³ and they were relieved from the exactions of the ecclesiastical courts and from the exorbitant fees for spiritual services which they abhorred. A protest was drawn up against any such concessions by the Protestant Primate Ussher, and subscribed by twelve Bishops, in which they declared 'the religion of the Papists to be superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical,

¹ *Memoirs*, ii. 65.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 253.

³ *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, i. 50.

their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine was a grievous sin. . . . To grant them a toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them was to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people; and they besought God to make them in authority zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry.¹ The offer of the Catholics was in consequence rejected with scorn.

But the King's necessities growing more urgent day by day, the Catholics made an offer to him of a voluntary subsidy of £120,000, to be paid in three annual instalments of £40,000 each. In return they were to receive certain concessions known as 'graces,' to be confirmed later by a parliament summoned for that purpose. Many of these graces, such as the limitation of the claims of the Crown to sixty years, concerned Catholics and Protestants alike. Others, as the right of Recusants to practise in courts of law, the substitution of the oath of civil allegiance for that of Supremacy, concerned Catholics alone, and as they had paid at least two-thirds of the subsidy² they thought themselves entitled to such. The first instalment was duly paid, but so far from the King's promise being fulfilled, a proclamation was issued on January 16th, 1629, ordering that 'all pretended Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Jesuits, and Friars, who dared of late to assemble in public and celebrate their superstitious services . . . and to erect colleges and mass-houses of monks and nuns, should now break up such convents and forbear to teach, preach, or celebrate their service in any church or place whatsoever. The owners of such houses were commanded to expel such friars, &c., and convert the buildings to more lawful uses.'³ Fifteen religious houses, by direction of the Lords of the Council in England, were seized then for the King's use.

The Franciscan community of Dublin, driven from their old

¹ Parr's *Life of Ussher*, p. 29.

² Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, i. 53. Of the above sum £106,28 was paid in by January, 1631. Strafford's *Letters*, i. 63.

³ Ware's *Annals*, ad ann.

convent in Francis Street, hired just then a small house in Cook Street, which served them for an oratory and convent. About twelve months after the proclamation was issued, the authorities made a raid on it, as we learn from the account of an eye-witness:—

Our oratories began again to be opened, and in the last term before Christmas there was a great resort to the friars in Cook-street, for that we held ourselves out of danger of the last proclamations; but upon St. Stephen's day last it befell that the pseudo-archbishop of Dublin¹ and the Mayor,² a great Puritan, went with soldiers to the said friars' house about noon of the day, and there defaced the altar and oratory, and were leading away two friars, which they took. The devout women which were in the oratory, together with young men that came to the city, did so play on the Mayor and Archbishop and their men with stones and clubs, that they were forced to take horse, and some persons were hurt. Some Catholic aldermen who were not at all in the streets, but only in their own house, because they got not out to rescue the Mayor, be put in prison. I know not what the issue may be. Some of our Catholics be gone with speed to England. I hope they will be able to divert the King's indignation.³

His Majesty in person was pleased, openly and in the most gracious manner, to approve and commend the ability and good services of the Lords Justices, whereby they might be sufficiently encouraged to go on with the like resolution and moderation till the work was fully done as well in the city as in other places of the kingdom, leaving to their discretion when and where to carry out a softer or harder hand.⁴

October 22nd of the same year Lord Cork writes:—

The House of Nonnes (Nuns), on the Merchants' Quay, in Dublin, was seized on by the Mayor. There were sixteen of prime noblemen and gentlemen's daughters therein. Five of them, in their habits, were brought before the Lords Justices and Council into the Council Chamber, and there examined, and licensed to return to their former place of residence, there to continue for one month, so as in the meantime they did put in good security never to assemble conventually together in this kingdom, and to appear at table if at any time

¹ Launcelot Bulkeley, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin from 1619 to 1630.

² Thomas Evans was Mayor in 1630.

³ MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. See also Meehan's *Franc. Mon.*, p. 90, and *Foxes and Firebrands*, pt. 3, p. 83. The date is January, 1630. The house and oratory of the Jesuits was ransacked the next day.

⁴ *Scrinia Sacra* in O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*, p. 248.

within three months their appearance should be required of any of their securities. And those five nonnes were brought to the Castle on foot, so it was without my consent or privity that they were sent thus in a coach, whereby too much grace and countenance was given such delinquents and contemptuers of authority.¹

In 1633 Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, was appointed Viceroy. The negociations for further subsidies were again renewed; and, as previous experience taught the Irish people that little reliance could be placed on the royal promises, the Deputy took great pains to persuade them, that if the supplies were granted freely and without any condition, the King would certainly confirm the 'graces.' He strove to remove from their minds all doubts. 'So great a meanness,' he said, 'cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his gracious regards of you and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his Grace.' Six subsidies of £50,000 each, payable in four years, were voted unanimously, a far greater allowance than the Deputy expected. The Commons, relying on the Deputy's promises, now prayed that the Statute 21 James I.,² and the rest of the graces, should be perpetuated by Acts to be passed in that parliament. Soon after the opening of the second session, the Speaker and the Commons were ordered to attend the Deputy to hear his answer to the petition. He told them that the passing of the Act of James I. was not expedient for the kingdom at the time, and so they were to rest satisfied. We know now that Strafford not only advised the King to break his promise, but had engaged to take on himself all the odium that was sure to follow from the refusal. The King wrote him a special letter of thanks 'for keeping off the envy of a necessary negative of those unreasonable graces that people expected from him.'³ When this answer was reported to the Commons, the Catholic members, who

¹ *Lisnane Papers*, iii. 106. From these documents we may judge of the truth of Clarendon's statement, that the whole (Irish) nation enjoyed during this and the former reign an undisputed exercise of their religion. *H. of the Rebellion in Ireland*, p. 8.

² Strafford's *Letters*, i. 289.

³ This was probably the Act for the Limitation of Actions, to limit the claims of the Crown.

⁴ Strafford's *Letters*, i. 320, 331.

were principally aggrieved by the inquiry into defective titles, were so far stirred up, as they grew very peevish, and were wrought up to a strange insolent frowardness, refusing and rejecting all which came from the State.¹ The parliament was packed, very much in the same fashion as that summoned by Chichester. In spite of the protests of the Catholic members, two Statutes were made, giving to the King the wardship of minors and the custody of their lands,² thus putting it in his Majesty's power to have such minors instructed early in the principles and brought up in the communion of the Church of England, though the Deputy had promised in his speech at the opening of the parliament 'that the meeting should be merely civil, religion not at all concerned one way or other, and nothing of religion stirred in this parliament.'

During Strafford's administration a certain degree of toleration was tacitly allowed to Catholics, and the fine for non-attendance at the Protestant churches was not enforced. Indeed this toleration was one of the charges brought against him in his trial, for in the 4th Article it is said, 'that he hath traitorously abused the power and authority of the Government to the increasing, countenancing, and encouragement of Papists,' and in the 13th, 'that he endeavoured to draw a dependency upon himself of the Papists both in England and Ireland, and to that end, during the time of his government in Ireland, he restored divers friaries and mass-houses which had formerly been suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that kingdom, two of which houses are in the city of Dublin and had been assigned to the University thereof, who have since employed the same to the exercise of the Popish religion.'³

It would be beside our purpose to enter further into the details of Wentworth's administration in Ireland, his proceedings on the inquiry into defective titles, and his intended plantations, such matters belonging rather to the general history of this country.

¹ Strafford's *Letters*, i. 347.

² 10 Charles I., session 2, c. 2.

³ Strafford's *Letters*, i. 289.

⁴ See *Collection of State Trials*, i. 702 and 706.

CHAPTER V.

THE CROMWELLIANS. (1649-1660).

Causes of the War of 1641—Priests banished—Penalty—Priest-hunting—
Priests in Boffin and Aran—Priests transported to the Barbadoes—People
deported thither, and their condition.

THE author of *Eikon Basilike* reckons among the chief causes of the Irish war of 1641, 'the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men (in England) who thought it a great argument of the truth of their own religion to endure no other but their own.'¹ According to Clarendon, 'the parliamentary party had grounded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Catholic religion.'² Another contemporary author states that 'it was blazed abroad by the best of Protestants, that all Ireland must, by that day twelve-month, go to church, be executed, or endure banishment or exile.'³ Sir William Parsons positively asserted that within a twelve-month no Catholic should be seen in Ireland, and Sir John Clotworthy declared that the conversion of the Papists was to be effected only by the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other.⁴ In the beginning of December, 1641, the Lords Justices summoned several of the nobility and gentry of the Pale to Dublin to hold a conference with them. These gentlemen met at Swords, and replied by letter, 'that they had received certain advertisements, and that Sir Charles Coote at the Council Board had uttered certain speeches tending to a purpose to execute upon those of their religion a general massacre, by which they were deterred from waiting on their Lordships, not having a security for their safety

¹ Chap. xlii.

² *Historical View*, p. 115.

³ *Aphorismal Discovery*, i. 32.

⁴ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 235.

from these threatened evils and the safety of their lives.'¹ About the same time both Houses of parliament passed a joint declaration, in answer to the demand of the Irish for the full exercise of their religion, that they would never give their assent to any toleration of the Papist religion in Ireland or in any other part of his Majesty's dominions.² Hence 'the defence of the Catholic religion against Sectaries and Puritans' is one of the reasons assigned by the National Synod, held at Kilkenny, May 10th, 1642, for declaring the war to be 'lawful and just.'³ We know Cromwell's answer to the inhabitants of New Ross, when they asked for liberty of conscience: 'I meddle not with any man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the parliament of England have power that will not be allowed of.'⁴ The Lords Justices had forbidden any quarter to be given to those Catholics who were found in arms; and as regards the priests, when any places surrendered during the war, these were always excepted, and were treated as enemies who had not surrendered.⁵ We need not enter into the history of Cromwell's Irish campaign; it has been told in detail elsewhere. We are concerned more about its consequences to religion. Here is a brief account given by a contemporary of the Puritan persecution:—

After the defeat of the Catholic armies in Leinster and Munster the triumph of the English Parliamentarians was complete. In 1653, the cities and almost all the strong places had fallen into the hands of Cromwell. But, though victorious everywhere, his followers did not dare as yet to throw off the mask, and declare openly their purpose of extirpating the Catholic religion, because they were exposed to the desultory attacks of bodies of the Catholic troops. The Cromwellians, therefore, connived for a time at the liberty of the priests and the exercise of Catholic worship, until a favourable opportunity presented itself of giving full vent to their malice. In this sad state of affairs, the Irish troops, which yet survived in scattered bodies throughout the country, were invited by his Catholic Majesty to embark for Spain, a measure

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 244.

² Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, iv. 455.

³ *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 263.

⁴ *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 186.

⁵ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 312.

which was strongly urged by the Spanish Ambassador in London. Almost every month accordingly, they were shipped off in thousands to Spain and Belgium, the communication with France being then entirely cut off. The power of the Irish Catholics being gradually broken by these successive drains, the English Parliamentarians had nothing to fear and began to threaten publicly the extermination of the Irish Papists.

Accordingly, on January 6th, 1653, there issued against the Catholics an edict of Cromwell, commanding all priests, under pain of death, to leave Ireland within twenty days. The same penalty, together with the forfeiture of all their property, was denounced against all laymen who should dare to harbour or protect any ecclesiastic in any way or for any pretext whatsoever. . . . The clergy suffered many and grievous persecutions under former English Governors, but before this time they were never reduced to the lowest extreme of misery. However severe the persecutions may have been in former times, the nobles and other Catholics, who formed the great majority of the nation, were allowed to retain possession of their lands and houses, which offered to the clergy an easy and secure retreat. But now the whole face of things is changed, since the nobles and almost all the Catholics are driven from the cities,¹ and the houses of the nobility are turned into garrisons of the heretics.²

The Bishop of Kilmacduagh, giving an account of the state of Ireland about this same time to the Cardinal Protector, says:—

Of twenty-six Bishops, who before this persecution resided among their flocks, only four, or at the most six, are now living. The Archbishop of Cashel,³ though bed-ridden through old age, was dragged by the heretics from his bed, hurried from Clonmel to Waterford, and put on board a ship bound for Spain. By this cruelty the heretics sought to bring about the Bishop's death, a penalty they did not wish to inflict on him publicly within the kingdom, lest his martyrdom should comfort the Catholics. A very close search was made for priests and ecclesiastics throughout the whole kingdom. Those who were captured were placed on board ship and transported to foreign countries, Spain, France, Belgium, or the Indies, as a ship offered, without any provisions being supplied for their support, after seizing all their goods and money. Not one of ten of the ecclesiastics has escaped this search, and those who have escaped lead a life of extreme misery concealed in the mountains and forests. All day long

¹ Hewson, Governor of Dublin, reported in 1651, that 'in Dublin, which formerly swarmed with Papists, he knew there now but one, a surgeon and a sensible man.' Gilbert, *Calendar of Records of Dublin*, p. vi.

² Report of the Irish Mission, S.J., in 1654. *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 407.

³ The Most Rev. Dr. Walsh. He died at Compostella, May 6th, 1654, and is buried in the church of St. James. See *Renehan's Collections*, i. 280.

they lie hid in caves, and at night they come out for a few hours to minister to the spiritual wants of the Catholics.¹

Death was the penalty ordained against those who were captured; it was often, not always, commuted into banishment. Thus, at the assizes held in Carlow in March, 1656, 'Patrick Archer, a papist priest, was indicted of high treason for coming and remaining in the land, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided; and being thereof found guilty, was sentenced by the Lord Chief Justice Lowther to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the laws in such cases. The said Council taking the same into consideration, do hereby order that part of the sentence for the quartering of the said Patrick to be and is hereby remitted.'² When any body of troops surrendered, the officer in command was allowed to take with the troops any priest who wished to go to foreign countries. Others who did not wish to quit the country were searched for, a reward of £5 being given to anyone who would capture a priest and lodge him in gaol. Here are a few of the entries in the Council books for the years 1653-1658. Arthur Spencer, Roger Pere, and John Briun have £5 divided between them for apprehending Edmund Dunn, a popish priest.³ The like sum to Christopher Wilson, for having brought in one John O'Duay, a known popish priest.⁴ The like sum to be distributed to Thomas Gregson, Evan Powell, and Samuel Alley, for taking Donough Hegarty, a popish priest.⁵ Sergeant Gibbs and Corporal Hill to be paid £10 for apprehending two popish priests, Morris Prendergast and Edmund Flahy.⁶ To Lieutenant Edward Wood £25, for apprehending five priests and friars, viz., Thomas McKerna, Turlough O'Gowan, Hugh McGeon, Terlagh Fitzsimons, and Owen Rely, who upon examination confessed themselves priests and friars.⁷ Such priests were taken from the prisons

¹ *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 405. The date is supposed to be 1653.

² *Commonwealth Council Books*, A. 10, p. 48; in the Public Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin.

³ *Ibid.*, A. 21 bis., p. 120. There is in St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, a chalice inscribed with his name.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, A. 24, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, A. 23, p. 215.

⁷ *Ibid.*, A. 24, p. 300.

in which they had been lodged, and sent to some port, Carrickfergus or Waterford, sixpence a day being allowed for their support while on the road, there to be shipped in due time for Spain or the Barbadoes.¹ Some few were allowed to remain; but in no case were they allowed to exercise their office of priests. Thus, William Shiell, priest, 'being old, lame, and weak, not able to travel without crutches,' was permitted to reside at such a place in the King's County as the Governor of Athlone should judge fitting, provided he use not his priestly function.² Barnaby Brian, an old and decrepit priest, set forth in a petition 'his impotency and weakness, partly by reason of his age, partly by means of the falling sickness, wherewith he has long been visited, whereby he is disenabled to travel or transport himself to foreign countries;' he is permitted to reside in Kilkenny, County Westmeath, for one year, and not to remove above a mile from thence or to exercise any priestly function.³ Hugh Longan, 'aged 80 years, or thereabouts, and very decrepit and not able to travel,' is allowed to reside in such place in the County Westmeath as the Governor of the garrison of Mullingar will adjudge fit, on the same conditions.⁴ Paul Cashen, priest, lately apprehended at Maryborough, is allowed to continue his residence in Queen's County under safe custody, on the same terms, till he is in a condition of health able to be transported beyond sea.⁵

It was a capital crime to harbour a priest, and not to disclose his hiding place, and anyone meeting a priest accidentally was subject to have his ears cut off and to be flogged naked through the streets, if he did not inform on him.⁶ Morison gives a few out of many instances of the cruelty practised by Ingoldsby, when he was Governor of Limerick. Daniel Connery was on his own confession convicted of harbouring a priest, and condemned to death. His sentence was commuted to perpetual banishment. His property was confiscated. His wife, a lady of noble birth, died of want, and

¹ *Commonwealth Council Books*, A. 10, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, A. 84, p. 668.

³ *Ibid.*, A. 9, p. 250, and A. 85, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, A. 82, p. 618.

⁵ *Ibid.*, A. 11, p. 61.

⁶ Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, p. 694.

his three daughters were transported to the West Indies to be sold there as slaves.¹ Daniel O'Molony happened to meet in Limerick a priest named David Molony, a relative of his. Because he did not denounce the priest, his ears were cut off by the public executioner.² 'I could mention,' he adds, 'a thousand instances of the like cruelty.' This writer was kept shut up for thirty months in a dark prison thirty feet underground, bound with heavy chains, in the company of robbers, in hunger, thirst, and nakedness, and afterwards sentenced to perpetual banishment.³

But Spain and other foreign countries were not thought secure enough to hold the priests. It was feared that they would imitate 'the Popish priests who,' in Elizabeth's time, 'spared not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long, toilsome, and dangerous travelling hither, where they knew peril of death awaited them, and no reward or riches to be found, only to draw the people to the Church of Rome.'⁴ In consequence of the increase of priests in the country in 1655, a general arrest was ordered; the result was that the prisons were soon filled to overflowing.⁵ On February 27th, 1657, the Government 'referred to his Excellency to consider whether the priests, then imprisoned in Dublin, might be more safely disposed of.'⁶ It was thought safest to shut them up in islands off the west coast; escape would be impossible, and hardship and privation would soon end their lives.

On December 13th, 1658, the Privy Council ordered that 'what public money rested in the hands of Colonel Thomas Sadlier, upon the accounts of provision for Popish priests, be forthwith paid over into the hands of the respective Governors of Boffin and Aran, in order to the building of 'cabbins,' and making other provisions for the said Popish priests that are either there or from time to time shall be sent thither.'⁷ And on February 28th, 1659,

¹ *Threnodia*, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Spenser's View of Ireland*, p. 114.

⁵ *C.C. Books*, A. 5, p. 327.

⁶ *Ibid.*, A. 10, p. 277.

⁷ *Ibid.*, A. 24, p. 295.

it was ordered that £50 be given for the same purpose.¹ The following list does not give the names of all the prisoners then in confinement, for there are several orders of the Privy Council granting sums of money, £20, £50, for the relief of the priests in Carrickfergus, confined there, no doubt, till they could be transported to France or Spain, perhaps to the Barbadoes:—

THE NAMES OF SUCH PRISONERS AS ARE IN BOFFIN
AND GALWAY.

James Fallon, *Vicar-General*,
Roger Comman, *Priest*,
Gerot Davocke, *Dominican*,
Hrien Conny, *Franciscan*,
Thomas Boorke, "

GALWAY.

Teigh Mannin, *Priest*,
Miles Tully, "
Patrick Trevar, "
Philip Walsh, "
Thomas Grady, "
Meaghlen Conry, "
John Kelly, "
Antony Geoghegan, *Abbot*,
Edward Delamare, *Priest*,
John Dillon, *Dominican*,
Thomas M'Kiernan, *Franciscan*,
Terlagh Gavan, "

PRIESTS FROM CORK.

John Russell, *Vicar-General*,
William Hereoy, *Priest*,
William Ferrall, "
Redmond Roth, "
Conner Kelly, "
Denis Horgan, "
F. Henry Burgatt, *Dominican*,
F. Teig Donovan, *Franciscan*.

F. Conner Hurley, *Franciscan*,
F. Conner Slavine, "
F. Thomas Ryany, "
F. Coner Scanlan, "
F. Jaspar Ponth is in Aran with
one moiety of the above.

PRIESTS AND FRIARS
PRISONERS.

F. Bernard Conney,
F. Bonaventure Font,
F. Thomas Boork,
F. Francis Horan,
F. Thomas MacKiernan,
F. Eugene Gavan,
F. Hugh MacKeoin,
F. Eugene Reilly, *Dominican*,
F. Terence Simon, *Franciscan*,
F. Patrick Lasser, "
F. Patrick Drumgoole, "
F. James Simons, "
F. Patrick Wesley, "
F. James Tuite,
F. Patrick Senalhan,
F. Nicholas Shiel,
F. N. Wale,
F. Eugene M'Namee,
With many others. All these have
died.

The history of all these things, which have not been recorded through neglect or inexcusable ignorance, is now set down here by F. M. B. M., viz., in 1653, in Cromwell's time.

¹ *C. C. Books*, A. 24, p. 374.

² From a MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin.

³ James Tuite, Priest. In consideration of his great age and infirmity, as it appears he is not able to travel beyond the seas . . . it is thought fit that he be sent to the island of Boffin, and abide there.—*Order of C.C.*, Feb. 28th, 1656; A. 86, p. 213.

Lynch confirms the statements made here in reference to the clergy of Cork. Having enumerated the sufferings of some of them, he adds: 'As for the rest of the clergy of the city and diocese of Cork, some were put to death, as John Tyrry, of the Order of St. Augustine, and Daniel Culan, a priest. The rest were punished with exile and imprisonment, and most of them died from the hardships endured in prison or in exile.'¹

The priests were kept imprisoned on these islands till the end of 1659 at least, for on October 24th of that year an order was issued to the Governor of Galway, 'to inform himself concerning the names and conditions of the Popish priests of Aran and Boffin,' and he was empowered 'to transport them to France or some other foreign country, they engaging themselves not to return under penalty of incurring the severity of the laws.'²

Several, too, were transported to the West Indies, as we learn from the *Commonwealth Council Books*:—

January 24th, 1655.—Ordered that the Governor of Waterford take care that Morish Cleer, priest, be shipt away with the first vessel bound for the Barbadoes, there to work for his livelihood.³

February 21st.—Ordered that the marshal in whose charge James Tuit, priest, is, do take the bolts (chains) off the petitioner, and take special care to secure him in safe custody until there is an opportunity to ship him away to the Barbadoes.⁴

December 8th.—It is the desire of the Council that the Governor of the Barbadoes take special care concerning three priests that are to be sent there, that they may be so employed as they be not at liberty to return into this nation, where that sort of people are able to do much mischief by having so great influence over the Popish Irish here and of alienating their affections from the present Government.⁵

December 10th.—Mr. Walsh to deliver one Shelton, a priest, to Captain Colman, that he may be transported into the Barbadoes or English plantations in America.⁶

¹ *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, ii. 631.

² *C. C. Books*, A. 16, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, A. 7, p. 371.

⁴ *Ibid.*, A. 7, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, A. 30, p. 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, A. 5, p. 210. O'Daly says, F. David Roche, a Dominican, was sent by the English to the Tobago islands. *Persecutions*, p. 225. The Rinuccini MSS. say he was taken in Limerick when the city surrendered to Ireton.

And what of the laity? 'Connaught,' says Prendergast, 'was chosen for the habitation of all the Irish nation. Thither they were all to remove at latest by May 1st, 1654, under penalty of death, except Irishwomen married to English Protestants before December 2nd of that year, provided they became Protestants; boys under fourteen, and girls under twelve, in Protestant service and to be brought up Protestants; and, lastly, those who had been on the side of the Parliament during the war. The number who did not 'transplant' was found to be very great, in spite of the punishment of death that was threatened and at times inflicted. The gaols were filled. At the assizes of 1658 many were condemned to death. But they were reprieved and ordered to be transported to the English plantations in America.'¹

So early as 1642 there was a very considerable number of Irish in the West India islands whom persecution and evil times had driven into exile. Among the 'Wadding Papers' there is a letter from F. O'Hartegan, S.J., in which he states, on the authority of a French naval officer, that their number was even then 20,000. They were without pastors to administer to them the sacraments. They petitioned that some Irish priests should be sent to them. Later their number increased. Sir William Petty, who wrote his *Political Anatomy* in 1672, says 6,000 boys and women had been sold as slaves out of Ireland. Lingard cites a letter written in 1656, which states that 60,000 had been transported up to that time to the Tobago Islands.² Other writers, as Bruodin,³ set down the number as 100,000. In November, 1654, the Lord Deputy and Council gave Robert Mouldsworth, a Bristol merchant, licence to take out of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Meath, and Louth, vagrants, not exceeding 200 persons, to the English plantation in America.⁴ On May 21st of the following year the same asks to have such as shall be sentenced for not transplanting (to Connaught), upon the account of being vagrants, to the number of one thousand.⁵ John Norris, agent for the Merchants

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 101.

² *H. of England*, vii. 102.

³ *Propug.*, p. 672.

⁴ *C. C. Book*, A. 6, p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, A. 8, p. 20.

of Bristol, is licensed to transport, not exceeding the number of two hundred, such men and women of the Irish nation (being widows without children, and young women above the age of 18), who are now by the laws of England declared vagrants, out of the Counties of Wexford and Kilkenny.¹ Divers Irish Papists, now imprisoned in sundry places in Leinster and Munster for not transplanting, were ordered to be put on board the vessel now in the harbour of Kinsale bound for the Caribbee (Islands).² In 1656 the parliament passed an Act that the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of all persons attainted remaining in Leinster, Ulster, or Munster, be upon conviction condemned to perpetual banishment and sent to America. Hardiman says that Stubbers, Governor of Galway, made excursions by night with armed troops into the country and seized upwards of a thousand people, whom he transported to the West Indies.³ 'God alone knows,' says a contemporary writer, 'the severity of the lot that awaits the Irish children in that slavery. We may form some idea of it from what happened to some of our nation there last year. The heretics, seeing that the Irish were prospering in the Island of St. Kitt's, seized in one night and bound with chains three hundred of the principal of them, and carried them off to a desert island, that they might perish there of cold and hunger. This was alas! too sadly realized in all except two, who through despair cast themselves into the sea, resolved to risk their lives on the waves rather than on the barren rocks. One of them soon perished; the other reached the mainland, bearing the sad news of the dreadful fate of his companions.'⁴ In answer to an inquiry, we have been told that among the people in St. Kitt's and the neighbouring islands there are still many persons bearing Irish names, most probably of Irish descent.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, A. 9, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, A. 10, p. 139.

³ *Scobell's Acts*, p. 507.

⁴ *History of Galway*, p. 134. See also Prendergast, *Crom. Sett.*, p. 237.

⁵ 'Status Rei Catholicæ in Hibernia, Anno 1654,' in *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 407.

⁶ In a Map published about 1700 there is a place in the Barbadoes marked 'Irishtown.' Cardinal Manning's grandmother by the father's side was Mary Ryan, of St. Kitt's, probably a descendant of Irish exiles. See his *Life*, ii. 713.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II. (1660-1689).

Hopes of the Irish Catholics—Parliament Summoned—The Act of Settlement—The Act of Explanation—Proclamation—Catholics Removed from Galway—James' Reception in Ireland—The Parliament—Acts Passed—Attainders.

THE Irish Catholics who had been driven from their homes under the Cromwellian regime, were quite sure that at the King's restoration they too would be restored to their estates. The King's honour was pledged, and the 'Articles of Peace' made by the Marquis of Ormonde 'on behalf of his most excellent Majesty, and the General Assembly of the Catholics on behalf of his Majesty's Catholic subjects,' in 1649, declared that all Acts, &c., made by parliament to the prejudice of his Catholic subjects since August 7th, 1641, and all attainders, &c., should be vacated by an Act to be passed in the next parliament.¹ Many who had left Ireland now returned; and some of them, without waiting for the tedious process of the law, took possession of the lands of their ancestors. But they were destined to be cruelly undeceived very soon. Coote and Broghill, names of evil omen to the Catholics, were chosen for special favours, and the Marquis of Ormonde, who, when success was within their reach, weakened them by insiduously sowing discord among them,² was appointed Lord Lieutenant.

The first parliament held for fully twenty years met May 8th, 1661. Of the Lords twenty-one were Catholics and seventy-two Protestants. In the Commons the majority of the two hundred and sixty-two members were Protestants, having been elected by the towns from which the Catholics had been driven.³ An

¹ See Gilbert's *History of the Confederation*, vii. 185.

² French's *Unkinde Deserter*, p. 151.

³ O'Flanagan says there was but one Catholic member returned to this parliament, one of the members for Trim. *Irish Parliaments*, p. 49.

attempt was made at the very beginning of the session to exclude the Catholic members from both Houses by requiring that the Peers should receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Protestant Primate, and that the Commons should take the oath of Supremacy. In this parliament the famous Act of Settlement, 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 2, was passed, though strenuously opposed both in parliament and before the King and Council in England. Under it a Court was established in Dublin to determine who were 'nocent' and who 'innocent.' Several Catholics succeeded in obtaining restitution of their lands. The Protestant 'interest' grew alarmed, and the Duke of Ormonde limited its duration to a certain day, with the result that only 817 claims were heard, and nearly 3,300 left unheard. Ormonde procured the passing of the Act of Explanation, 17 and 18 Charles II. c. 2, in virtue of which 'no papist who by the qualifications of the former Act had not been adjudged innocent should at any future time be reputed innocent or entitled to claim any lands or settlements,' and in this way every remaining hope of those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard was entirely cut off, without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair trial.¹ About 500 Catholics besides were restored as 'special' objects of the royal favour.² By c. 35 of the Act of Settlement the lands held by the Regicides, those who had voted for the death of Charles I., amounting to over 170,000 acres, were taken from them. Out of these lands, formerly belonging to the Irish, some provision might have been made for some few more of the worst cases of injustice; but instead, by the same Act, c. 194, they were given not to the former rightful owners, but to the King's brother, the Duke of York, later James II.

After the transplantation of the Irish to Connaught, a great part of the country lay waste for want of labourers to till it. Many of the English soldiers among whom the lands were divided, did not care to settle on them, and were eager to return home. An Act of Cromwell's parliament of 1653 ordained 'that persons

¹ On the nature of this Act, see Lord Clare's speech on the Union.

² Their names are mentioned in the Act of Explanation.

of any nation professing the Protestant religion were allowed to purchase and take to farm any of the forfeited houses and lands, and to dwell in them, enjoying all the rights and privileges belonging to Protestant natives of the country.' This Act was renewed, by 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 13, allowing persons born out of his Majesty's dominions to transport their families into any part of Ireland with the intention that they and their families should reside therein, and on taking the oath of allegiance and Supremacy they should be deemed his Majesty's subjects and enjoy all the benefits of the laws as any natural-born subject. Upon payment of twenty shillings they should be admitted freemen of any city or borough within the kingdom, and exempted from payment of excise for all their household provisions for the first seven years. By 4 W. and M. c. 2, they were allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in their own several rites as used in their own countries. By 2 Anne c. 14, they were freed from corporation taxes and from all corporation offices that would bring expense with them.

In 1678 the so-called Popish plot made its appearance, and in a short time roused the English people to a state of frenzy.¹ The Primate, the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, was executed, and the Most Rev. Dr. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, was taken from his sick bed and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, where he died. Proclamations followed each other in quick succession. On October 16th appeared one, 'requiring all titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Abbots, and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the Pope, and also all Jesuits and other Regular Priests, to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November; and that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries, and Popish schools should dissolve and separate themselves.' And that they might have convenience of transportation, all ships outward bound were commanded to give timely notice of their departure, and take on board such of the Popish clergy as desired to go with them. On November 20th another was issued, 'forbidding the Papists from

¹ In all history it will be difficult to find such another instance of popular frenzy and bigoted delusion.—Home, *H. of England*, viii. 82.

coming into the Castle of Dublin or any other fort or citadel; and that no Papists should be suffered to reside in any garrison except such as had been inhabitants there for the space of twelve months before. On December 2nd circular letters were sent to the Justices of Peace, to make a strict search after the titular Bishops and regular clergy that did not transport themselves. On March 26th of the following year, there issued a proclamation 'to apprehend the Popish priests of every parish respectively and transport them beyond seas, unless within fourteen days after any robbery or murder committed the criminals be taken, killed, or discovered; and on the same day a reward of £10 was promised by proclamation 'for taking a Jesuit or titular Bishop.' And not long afterwards the Lord Lieutenant and Council ordered the Popish inhabitants to be removed from Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Drogheda, except some few trading merchants, artificers, and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons.²

On March 12th, 1689, James II. landed at Kinsale. Everywhere along the route to Dublin his journey was like a triumphal progress, his profession of the Catholic religion and the misfortunes which it brought on him having roused the enthusiasm of the people to an extraordinary degree. At his entrance into the Castle of Dublin he was met by the Catholic Primate, and conducted to the chapel, where a Te Deum was solemnly sung in thanksgiving.

One of his first acts was to summon a parliament, to meet on May 7th. In the Upper House there were 54 members, among whom were several Protestant noblemen and six Protestant Prelates; no Catholic Prelate was summoned. In the Lower House the number returned was 224; of whom only six were Protestants. In his speech³ at the opening of the session the King declared that 'he had always been for liberty of conscience and against invading any man's property; and that he would most

² These proclamations will be found in Cox's *Hib. Angl.*, reign of Charles II., pp. 15, 16.

³ It will be found in full in Davis' *Patriot Parliament of 1689*, p. 40; and a list of the members of both Houses, *ibid.*, p. 155.

readily consent to the making of such good and wholesome laws as might be for the general good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and the relieving of such as might have been injured by the late Acts of Settlement, in so far forth as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good of his people.' The session lasted a little over two months, ending on July 20th. During that time thirty-five Acts were passed. The 4th repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; the 12th, '*An Act for the Liberty of Conscience*,' repealed such Acts and clauses of any Act of parliament as were inconsistent with the same; and the 13th and 14th provided for the payment of tithes by Protestants to the Protestant clergy, and by Catholics to the Catholic clergy. The 20th attainted of high treason about 2,000 persons, the great majority of whom were Protestant landowners, unless they appeared before an Irish Judge before certain dates, to prove their innocence, and vested their lands in the King in the meantime. 'The Act was not of the nature of a religious prescription,' says Lecky. 'It was inevitable that Protestant landlords should have usually taken the side of William, and Catholic landlords that of James, but religion is not even mentioned in the Act, and among the attainted persons a few were Catholics. It is not alleged that a single person was executed under the Act. If more than 2,000 persons were conditionally attainted by the Irish parliament of 1689, more than 3,000 had been absolutely deprived of their possessions by the parliament of 1665, and the parliament which committed the one injustice consisted mainly of the sons of men who had suffered by the other. Reasonable judges, while censuring the Act of the Irish parliament, will not forget the events of the last few generations in shaking all sense of the sanctity of property, the exigencies of the civil war which made it imperative to find some resources by which to carry on the struggle, the violence with which in that age every contest was conducted.'¹

¹ *History of Ireland*, i. 132.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGNS OF WILLIAM AND MARY. (1689-1702).

Surrender of Limerick—Civil Articles—First Parliament—Second Parliament—Act to Restrain Foreign Education—Act to Confirm Articles of Limerick—Protests—Other Acts to Prevent Marriage of Protestants with Papists—Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery—Oath of Abjuration and Allegiance—Petition of Catholics—Acts for Registering the Popish Clergy—Other Acts—Act to Explain the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery.

ON October 3rd, 1691, Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish, capitulated. The war had lasted two years and a-half, and had cost England almost seven millions. William, who was by no means secure on the throne of England, was anxious for peace at any cost. He was not a bigot. Three months before he had offered to the Irish Catholics the free public exercise of their religion, half the employments, civil and military, in the kingdom, half the churches, half their properties which they held before Cromwell's coming.¹ These terms were refused. He now sent a proclamation renewing his offer, but it was suppressed by the Lords Justices,² who hastened to the camp, while the terms of capitulation were under discussion, to hold the Irish to as hard terms as possible.³ The Civil Articles of surrender⁴ agreed on and duly signed were as follows:—

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they

¹ See Wogan's Letter to Swift. *Works*, xvii. 450.

² Sir Charles Porter and Thomas Coningsby.

³ See Mitchel's *H. of Ireland*, i. 3.

⁴ These, as well as the Military Articles, twenty-nine in number, will be found in Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 266. We give only those of importance to the public.

did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.;¹ and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion.

II. All inhabitants or residents of Limerick or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of King James . . . in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them,² and all the commissioned officers in their Majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments that are treated with and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their Majesties' obedience . . . and their heirs, shall hold, and enjoy all their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, privileges, and immunities, which they held or were rightfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since by the laws in force then, and shall be put in possession by order of the government of any such of them as are in the King's hands or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein . . . and the said persons of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may practise their several respective professions as freely as they did use and enjoy the same in the reign of Charles II. . . . Provided that no person shall enjoy the benefit of this Article that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance³ . . . when thereunto required.

III. All merchants or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their Majesties' Declaration, February, 1688-9, shall have the benefit of the second Article, in the same manner as if they were present, provided such merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

V. All the said persons comprised in the said 2nd and 3rd Articles shall have a general pardon of all the attainders, felonies, outlawries, treasons, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever by them committed since the beginning of the reign of James II.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the 2nd and 3rd Articles shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for defence of the same or for fowling.

¹ Penal laws against Catholic priests and Catholic worship existed in Ireland during this reign. But both were tolerated. Catholics could sit in parliament. There did not exist then that long and sanguinary series of enactments concerning education, ownership of land, &c. See Mitchell's *H. of Ireland*, p. 14, and Lecky's *H. of Ireland*, i. 139.

² An important omission here will be noticed later.

³ It ran as follows: I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' government, shall be the abovesaid and no other.

XII. The Lords Justices and the General¹ do undertake that their Majesties will ratify the Articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

The treaty was confirmed by their Majesties on April 5th of the following year, and they promised, moreover, that 'as to such parts thereof for which an Act of parliament should be found necessary, they would recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and give their royal assent to any Bill or Bills passed by the two Houses of parliament for the purpose.'

Such were the provisions of this treaty which an English historian calls the great charter of the civil and religious liberty of the Irish Catholics.² By it they were placed in a position of complete equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen; the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed; their property was secured to them; pardon was given them of all misdemeanours of which they might have been guilty, and the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities accorded by the law or by custom, were restored to them; the practice of the several trades and professions allowed them, the use of arms given them, and liberty to vote for members of parliament.³

William summoned his first parliament to meet October 5th, 1692; it was dissolved in September, 1693. No mention whatever was made in it of the security which he had promised to obtain for the Catholics. The Act 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 13, for the settlement of Protestant aliens in Ireland, was continued for seven years more.

The second parliament met August 27th, 1695. The Deputy,

¹ Baron de Ginckle.

² Smollett, *H. of England*, i. 137. See Lecky, *H. of Ireland*, i. 139.

³ The Act of the English parliament, 3 Will. and M. c. 2, by which Irish peers and members of the House of Commons were first required to take the oath of Supremacy, was not binding in Ireland; though the Catholics submitted to it, they were not legally bound to do so till the 22 George III., when the Irish parliament enacted that the clauses in English statutes relating to the making of any declaration should be in force in Ireland. This exclusion was confirmed by a law passed eleven years later, 33 George III. c. 21, s. 9. See Scully's *Statement of the Penal Laws*, c. 2, § 2.

Lord Capel, told the Houses that the King was engaged in the firm settlement of Ireland in a Protestant interest, but said not a word about the fulfilment of the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick. In this session the following Act, 'to restrain foreign education,' 7 Will. III. c. 4, was passed:—

I. No one shall go or send any one beyond the seas to be trained up in any abbey, nunnery, popish university, college, or school, or house of Jesuits or priests, or send money towards the support of any one already gone; and any such person going or sending shall be for ever disabled to bring any action at law, or be guardian or executor to any one, and be incapable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office within the kingdom, and shall forfeit all his goods, chattels, lands, and interests therein during his life.

II. If the person sent shall within six months after his return take the oath of allegiance, he shall be restored to his future rents, &c., losing, however, all past rents and profits.

IX. No one of the popish religion shall publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning in private houses, except only the children and others under the guardianship of the master or mistress of such private house or family, under a penalty of £20 and three months' imprisonment for every such offence.

7 Will. III. c. 5, ordained that—

X. No papist¹ shall be capable of having in his possession a horse of the value of £5 or more; and if any one of the protestant religion shall make discovery upon oath of any such horse to be in the possession of such papist to any two justices of the peace or mayor or other chief magistrate, and by making tender before the mayor or justices of the sum of £5 to the owner of the horse or to the justices in his absence, the property of such horse or horses shall be adjudged to be vested in the person making such discovery and tender.

XI. Any one concealing or aiding to conceal any such horse belonging to a papist or suspected papist, refusing to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, being duly convicted, shall be committed to the common gaol, there to remain for three months, and shall forfeit treble the value of said horse.

XIV. Whereas many idle persons refuse to work at their customary labour on several days on pretence that the same is dedicated to some saint or patron

¹ In Elizabeth's time the term to designate Catholics was 'Recusants,' 'persons in communion with the Church of Rome.' From 1692 the Statutes call them 'Papists,' 'Popish people.' In 33 George III. c. 21, they are termed 'Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion.' The later Statutes term them 'Roman Catholics' only. This is now the legal name. See Scully's *Statement of the Penal Laws*, p. 1.

for whom they have reverence, . . . if any common labourer hired or other servant retained shall refuse to work upon such day, he shall forfeit two shillings; and if he refuses or neglects to pay the same, he shall be publicly whipped.

The same parliament, two years later, passed the following Act, 9 Will. III. c. 1, which bears the title: *An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of the kingdom.*

I. All popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are ordered to depart out of the kingdom before May 1st, 1698, and if any of them shall be at any time after that date within the kingdom, he shall suffer imprisonment without bail, till he shall be transported beyond the seas; and if any person so transported return again into this kingdom, he shall be guilty of high treason, and shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit as in case of high treason.

II. Every such popish Archbishop, &c., &c., shall before May 1st, 1698, repair to the city of Dublin, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, Galway, or Carrickfergus, and there remain until there shall be a conveniency of shipping for the transportation to some place beyond the sea.

III. After the 29th day of December, 1697, no popish Archbishop, &c., &c., shall come into this kingdom from any part beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months' imprisonment, and then to be transported in the manner aforesaid; and if any such Romish ecclesiastical person, so transported, shall again return into this kingdom, he shall be guilty of high treason and suffer accordingly.

IV. Anyone after May 1st, 1698, that shall knowingly relieve, conceal, or entertain any such popish Archbishop, &c., &c., that after the 29th December, 1697, shall come into this kingdom contrary to the tenor of this Act, shall for the first offence forfeit £20; for the second, double the said sum; and if he shall offend the third time, he shall forfeit all his lands and tenements of freehold and inheritance during his life, and also all his goods and chattels, one moiety whereof to his Majesty, the other moiety to such person as shall inform,¹ so as such moiety does not exceed the sum of £100, and the surplus of what shall remain to his Majesty.

VI. No one after December 29th, 1697, shall bury any dead in any suppressed monastery, abbey, or convent, that is not made use of for celebrating

¹ The Irish House of Commons passed a resolution June 21st, 1690, that he prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service to the Government.—*Commons' Journals*, iii. 319.

divine service according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland by law established, within the precincts thereof, under a penalty of £10, which may be recovered from any person or persons present at the funeral; one moiety to the informer, the other to the minister and churchwardens of the parish where such offences shall be committed.

VIII. Every justice of the peace shall from time to time issue their warrants for apprehending and committal of all popish Archbishops, &c., &c., that shall remain in this kingdom, and for suppressing all monasteries, friaries, nunneries, and other popish fraternities or societies.

X. If any justice of the peace, mayor, or other officer shall neglect doing their duty in execution of the present Act, they shall for such neglect forfeit the sum of £100, one moiety thereof to the King, his heirs and successors, the other moiety to the informer, and he shall be disabled from serving as a justice during his life.

Chapter 2 is *An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the surrender of the City of Limerick*. In reference to this Act it must be remarked—1. The title omits the word 'the' before 'Articles.' 2. The preamble of the Act shows the intention of its authors was to evade what ought to have been its proper object. It runs thus: 'That the said Articles or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects of this kingdom may be confirmed.' 3. The first Article of the treaty, which guaranteed to the Catholics the free exercise of their religion, and an exemption from all disturbance on account of it, is wholly omitted. 4. In the second Article the following words 'and all such as are under their protection in the said counties' followed after the words 'any of them' in the original draft of the treaty which was signed by both parties. Through inadvertence they were omitted by the scribe, but later, attention being called to the omission, the King when ratifying the treaty, ordered them to be inserted and to be part of the said Article, 'and ratified and confirmed the said omitted words.' By the omission of them now the benefit of the treaty was confined to the Irish army, the inhabitants of the city of Limerick and of a few other garrison towns, the rest of the Catholics of the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo being excluded, though in the preamble of the treaty it is stated that the Irish Generals acted on behalf 'of the Irish inhabitants of these counties.' 5. After

the words 'freehold and inheritance,' a semicolon was substituted for a comma; and after the words 'privileges, and immunities,' the words 'to the said estates' were inserted, and in this way 'the rights, privileges, and immunities' is made to refer only to the estates of the Catholics and not to their persons and liberties also, to which the original Article referred. 6. The whole of that part of the second Article which guaranteed to Catholics the exercise of their several respective trades, professions, and callings is omitted. The 9th Article is omitted.¹

A petition was presented from Robert Cusack, Esquire, and Captains Francis Segrave and Maurice Eustace, praying on the part of themselves and their fellow-Catholics, that they might be heard by counsel on this bill before it passed into law; but the House of Commons unanimously resolved that the said petition should be rejected. In the Upper House a protest against the nefarious measure was signed by seven lay Peers, and, to their honour be it said, by seven Protestant Bishops.

Chapter 3. *An Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists.*²

I. If any protestant woman possessed of lands, &c., to the value of £500 or more shall after January 1st, 1698, marry any person without having first obtained a certificate under the hand of the minister of the parish, or bishop, or some justice of the peace, that he is a known protestant, such protestant person so marrying and the person she shall so marry shall be for ever afterwards rendered incapable of having any of the aforesaid estates, but they shall go to the next protestant of the kin to whom such estate would descend by law were such protestant woman and all other intervening popish heirs, &c., really dead and intestate at the time of such marriage. And any protestant minister or popish priest who shall after January 1st, 1698, join in marriage any protestant woman having any of said estates, &c., without having certificate as aforesaid, being convicted thereof, shall suffer one year's imprisonment and forfeit the sum of £20.

II. In case any protestant shall marry any woman without a certificate of

¹ See Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, p. 30.

² The object of this Act, as set down in the preamble, is 'to prevent the perverting of such protestants by marrying and also of the protestant persons to whom they were guardians, that they forsake their religion and become papists to the great prejudice of the protestant interest.'

his being a known protestant, such person shall be deemed to all intents and purposes a popish recusant, and shall afterwards be rendered incapable of being executor or guardian, or being heir to any person whatever, and disabled to sit in either house of parliament, and of having any civil or military employment whatever, unless within a year after such marriage he procures such wife to be converted to the protestant religion, and shall procure a certificate under the hand of the Bishop of the diocese that she is so converted.

III. Any popish priest or protestant minister that shall marry any soldier enlisted in his Majesty's army to any wife without such certificate shall forfeit £20 for every such offence, or in default of goods, &c., be committed to the county jail till he shall pay the said sum, one moiety to such person as shall give information, the other to the treasurer of the county.

10 Will. III. c. 13, forbids any solicitor to practise in any court of law or equity in the kingdom after March 1st, 1698 (9), without having first taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

2 Anne c. 3, *An Act to prevent popish priests from coming into this kingdom*, renews the Act of 9 Will. III. c. 3, forbidding Popish clergymen to come into the kingdom after January 1st, 1709, under penalty of twelve months' imprisonment and banishment, and if they returned, they should be guilty of high treason and suffer accordingly. Anyone harbouring them should for the first offence forfeit £20; for the second, double that sum; and for the third, all his lands, goods, and chattels. This Act was to continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament after the expiration of that period.

The Act 2 Anne c. 6, *An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*, was, as we learn from the preamble, 'intended to provide against the perversion of Protestants owing to their weakness or ignorance, or the extreme sickness and decay of their reason and senses,' to prevent Catholics from sending their children to foreign countries for their education, and to induce such children to embrace the Protestant religion. It is the first of the two ferocious Acts of Anne, as they are styled by Burke.¹

¹ Whoever wishes to understand the full meaning of these laws should study Burke's 'Tracts on the Laws against Popery in Ireland,' his 'Letter to an Irish Peer on the Repeal of a part of the Penal Law in the Irish Parliament of 1782,' and his 'Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.' *Works*, i. 537. ii. 431, 543. London, 1834.

I. Any one who shall pervert any person professing the protestant religion to forsake the same and profess the popish religion, the person so perverting, as well as every protestant so perverted, shall incur the penalty of prebend, and any papist who shall, after March 24th, 1703, send, or willingly suffer to be sent, any child under the age of 21 years, into France, or any other parts beyond the seas, without the special license of her Majesty or of her Chief Governor of the kingdom, and four of her Privy Council, he so sending, and such child, shall incur the penalties prescribed by 7 Will. III. c. 4.¹

II. When any of the judges of her Majesty's Courts or any two justices of the peace shall have reasonable grounds to suspect that any such child has been sent abroad into foreign parts, they shall convene the father or mother or guardian of the child and require them to produce him within two months, and if he is not produced within such time, or by showing reasonable cause till the next quarter sessions of the county, and shall not give good proof that the child is resident somewhere within the three kingdoms, and not in parts beyond the seas, such child shall be deemed to be educated in foreign parts, and shall incur all the penalties prescribed by such Act.

III. That the children of popish parents, who shall embrace the protestant religion or are desirous to be educated in it, may not, through fear of being disinherited or for want of fitting maintenance by them, be withheld from professing it, on complaint in Chancery, it shall be lawful for the Court to make order for the maintenance of such protestant child not maintained by such popish parent suitable to his ability and the age of the child as the Court shall adjudge fit; and in case the eldest son and heir of such popish parent shall be a protestant, on enrolment in the Court of Chancery of a certificate of the Bishop of the diocese testifying his being a protestant, such popish parent shall be only tenant for life of all the real estate whereof he shall be then seized in fee-tail or fee-simple, and the reversion shall be vested in such eldest son being a protestant.

IV. No person of the popish religion may be guardian of any child under 21; but the same, when the person entitled to the guardianship of such child is a papist, shall be disposed of by the Court of Chancery to some near relation of such child, being protestant, who is required to use his utmost care to bring up such child in the protestant religion till the age of 21;² and if any papist shall take upon him the guardianship of any such child, he shall forfeit the sum of £500, to be given to the Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin.³

V. Any protestant having any estate, real or personal, in this kingdom, intermarrying with any papist either in or out of this kingdom, shall, being

¹ See p. 50, *ante*.

² 'A provision atrociously cruel,' says Lecky, *H. of Ireland*, i. 154.

³ Founded in 1670, for the aged and infirm of the City of Dublin. See Whitelaw's *H. of Dublin*, i. 565.

convicted thereof, incur all the penalties and disabilities in the Act of 9 Will. III. c. 3, s. 2.¹

VI. Every papist is from March 24th, 1704, made incapable of purchasing lands, tenements, rents of the same for other term than 31 years.

VII. No papist who shall not in six months after he is entitled to have the profits by descent or by virtue of devise or gift become a protestant, shall take any benefit by such descent, &c., but during his life, or till conformity; but his nearest protestant relation or other protestant as if such papist and all intermediate papists were dead, shall have the said lands.

VIII. If any papist entitled to same by virtue of this Act on the disability of any other papist, shall after become protestant, he shall be entitled as if he had been a protestant when the disability fell on such other papist.

X. All lands, tenements, of which every papist is, or shall be seized in fee-simple or fee-tail, if not sold in his lifetime for money *bona fide* paid shall descend to all the sons share and share alike, and not to the eldest son being a papist as heir-at-law, and so to their sons share and share alike.²

XII. If the eldest son or heir-at-law of such papist shall be a protestant at the time of decease of such papist whose heir he shall be, the lands whereof such papist shall be so seized, shall descend to such eldest son or heir-at-law according to the rules of the common law of this kingdom. And if the eldest son and heir-at-law of any such papist who shall be at the decease of such papist whose heir he is of the age of one and twenty years, shall become a protestant within one year after the decease of such papist or within one year after he attains the age of twenty-one, he shall be entitled to the whole estate of such papist as if he were a protestant at the time of the decease of such papist whose heir he is.

XV. No person shall take benefit by this Act as a protestant unless he subscribe the Declaration and also subscribe the oath of Abjuration following, viz. :—

*I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.*³

¹ See p. 53, *antea*.

² This Act by 8 Anne c. 3, s. 9, was made to take effect from the first day of the Session in which it was passed, Sept. 21st, 1703. Its object was to reduce the heads of wealthy Catholic families to poverty.

³ The law imposing such an oath was a direct violation of Article IX. of the Treaty of Limerick. See p. 49, *antea*.

I do truly and sincerely acknowledge and profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne is lawful and rightful Queen of this realm and of all other her Majesty's dominions and countries thereto belonging.

XVI. All persons who shall receive any office civil or military, shall take and subscribe the oath and Declaration required to be taken by the English Act of 3 W. and M., and also the oath of Abjuration.

XVII. All such persons shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper within three months after they receive such employments, in some public church on Sunday immediately after divine service, and any one refusing or neglecting to do so is *ipso facto* adjudged incapable of such office.

XXIII. No one shall purchase or take a lease of any houses within the city of Limerick and the town of Galway or their suburbs, or dwell therein, but such as take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. And every person of the popish religion now inhabiting within the said cities and their suburbs shall give two securities for bearing himself faithfully to her Majesty, or in default leave the city.

XXIV. No freeholder, burgess, or freeman shall be capable of giving his vote for the electing of knights of the shire or burgesses to serve in parliament without taking the oath of allegiance and abjuration.

XXVI. Whereas the superstitions of popery are greatly increased by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of Saint Patrick's Purgatory¹ in Donegal, and of wells to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers, it is enacted that all such assemblies be adjudged unlawful, and every person meeting there shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings, or if he refuses or neglects to pay, he shall be publicly whipped.

XXVII. All magistrates are required to demolish all crosses, pictures, and inscriptions that are anywhere set up and are occasions of any popish superstitions.

A petition was presented by the Irish Catholics to the House of Commons praying to be heard by counsel in reference to a Bill, already transmitted to England and remitted to Ireland, entitled, *An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*, and the petition being referred to a Committee of the whole House, it was ordered that the petitioners should be heard by counsel. In pursuance of that order, Sir Theobald Butler, Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice, presented themselves at the bar of the Commons, where Sir Theobald Butler acquainted the House that he was come

¹ An exhaustive history and description of this famous place of pilgrimage will be found in O'Connor's *History of St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg*.

thither on behalf of himself and the rest of the Roman Catholics of Ireland comprised in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons¹ which he and the rest of the petitioners judged very material against the passing of the Bill, which he looked on as tending to destroying said Articles, granted upon the most valuable considerations of surrendering the said garrisons, at a time when they had the sword in their hands, and for any thing that appeared to the contrary might have been in a condition to hold out much longer, and when it was in their power to demand and make for themselves such terms as might be for their future liberty, safety, and security; and that, too, when the allowing such terms was highly advantageous to the Government to which they submitted.² He then took the Act, one clause after another, and proved it was a direct violation of the Articles of the Treaty of Limerick. The other two counsel spoke on the same side, the latter, however, not as counsel but as a petitioner likely to be aggrieved by the passing of the Act. The House answered them, in brief, that 'any right which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the Bill, it was in their own power to remedy by conforming,³ as in prudence they ought to do; and that they ought not to blame any but themselves.'⁴ The same counsel appeared before the Lords a few days after, and offered such arguments as they had made use of in the other House. They were told that in the reign of Charles II. there was no law which hindered the passing of any other law needed for the future safety of the Government. The petitioners admitted the right of the legislative power to alter or make any laws that might be absolutely needful for the safety and advantage of the republic. 'But then,' replied Sir Stephen Rice, 'such laws ought to be in general, and should not single or affect any one particular part of

¹ The arguments are given in full in Plowden's *Hist. Review of the State of Ireland*, i. 215, and Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, Appendix i.

² See Lecky's *H. of Ireland*, i. 138.

³ i.e., by becoming Protestants.

⁴ On the difference between the recall of the Edict of Nantes refusing toleration to the French Huguenots, and this Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, 2 Anne ch. 6, see Burke, *Works*, ii. 439, and Mitchel's *H. of Ireland*, p. 39.

the people, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood hitherto unimpeached since the ratification of the Articles of Limerick. To make any law that shall single any particular part of the people out of the rest, and take from them what by right of birth and all the preceding laws of the land had been confirmed to and entailed upon them, will be an apparent violation of the original institution of all right and an ill precedent to any that hereafter might dislike either the present or any other settlement which should be in their power to alter; the consequence of which is hard to imagine.' In spite of their protests, the bill passed the two Houses, and on March 4th, 1704, received the royal assent. A few days after the Commons passed unanimously a resolution 'that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected to put the Act in execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom,'¹ and in June of the following year they resolved 'that the hearing of Mass by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interests of the Pretender,'² and that such judges and magistrates as wilfully neglected to make diligent inquiry into and to discover such wicked practices ought to be looked upon as enemies to her Majesty's government.'³

In this session *An Act for Registering the Popish Clergy*, 2 Anne c. 7, was passed. The grounds for such legislation are given in the first section, viz., that 'the two Acts lately made for the banishing all regulars out of the kingdom and to prevent Popish priests coming into the same, might be wholly eluded unless the Government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still reside amongst us.' The ruin of religion would of necessity follow in a short time. A parish priest could not exercise his ministrations outside the county where he was registered. He could not have a curate. On the death of a parish priest therefore, who was usually a man advanced in years, the people were left wholly without pastors. 'The Popish

¹ *Commons' Journal*, iii. 289.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319. This was done to excite odium against the Catholics, as it was well known that they had no wish whatever to attempt a revolution in favour of the Stuarts.

³ Parnell, *H. of the Penal Laws*, p. 60.

priests,' says Swift, 'are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors.'¹

I. Every popish priest now in the kingdom shall at the next quarter sessions in the several counties after the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1704, return his name and place of abode to the clerk of the peace in the county where he shall reside, together with his age, the parish of which he pretends to be popish priest, and the time and place of his first receiving orders, and from whom he received the same,² and shall then and there enter into recognizances with two sufficient sureties, each in the sum of £50, that he shall be of peaceable behaviour and not remove out of such county where his place of abode lies into any other part of the kingdom. And every popish priest who shall not make such return shall be committed to the common gaol, there to remain till he be transported; and every such popish priest so convicted shall be transported out of this kingdom in like manner as popish regulars, and incur like penalties upon their return as are inflicted by 9 Will. III. c. 1.³

II. And to the end that such popish priests as lately have been or may be convinced of the errors of the Romish church may not suffer through want of maintenance or other mischievous effects of resentment of bigoted Papists, every such popish priest being approved as a convert and received into the church by the Bishop of the diocese wherein he resided, shall receive the sum of £20 every year till he is otherwise provided for, to be levied on the inhabitants of the county where such converted priest did last officiate or reside.

III. No popish parish priest shall have any popish curate or assistant, and every popish priest that shall neglect to register himself, shall depart out of this kingdom before the 20th of July, 1704, on pain of being prosecuted as a popish regular clergyman. And all such popish priests that shall neglect to register themselves and remain in this kingdom after July 20th, shall be esteemed popish regular clergymen and prosecuted as such.

This Act was to continue in force for five years and until the end of the next succeeding parliament, and no longer; it was well known that the next parliament would renew the same or adopt still more stringent measures for the extirpation of the Catholic religion.

¹ 'On the Sacramental Test.' *Works*, viii. 367. 'The design,' says Mant, 'was that there should be no succession.' *H. of the Church of Ireland*, ii. 212.

² A list of the parish priests' names, of their places of abode, of their parishes, of the dates of their ordination, of the places where and the persons from whom they received orders, and of the two sureties for each, will be found in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, vols. xi. and xii.

³ See p. 51, *antea*.

Chapter 14 continues the Act of 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 13, for encouraging Protestant strangers to inhabit and plant in Ireland for five years more, freeing them from all corporation taxes for seven years after their coming to this kingdom.

4 Anne c. 2, *An Act to amend an Act entitled, An Act for registering the Popish Clergy*, extends the Act 2 Anne c. 7, to such priests as were ordained since the expiration of the time appointed for the registration of the Popish clergy, or might be ordained at any future time, banishing them and declaring them liable to the penalties of high treason if they returned to the kingdom. Any one relieving, concealing, or entertaining any such clergyman was liable to the penalties enacted by 9 William III. c. 1, s. 4. Any justice of the peace, &c., neglecting his duty in execution of this Act, for every such neglect was to forfeit £50, a moiety to the Queen, and the other moiety to the informer. The Act was to continue till September 21st, 1708, and to the end of the next session of parliament, and no longer.

6 Anne c. 6, s. 2, re-enacts 9 Will. III. c. 10, forbidding any Papist to act as solicitor unless he took the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and raising the penalty for so doing to £200.

V. No papist shall serve on any grand or petty jury unless a sufficient number of protestants cannot be had for the service. And in all trials on any presentment, indictment, information, or action on any Statute for any offence committed by papists in breach of such laws, the plaintiff or prosecutor may challenge any papist returned as juror, and assign as a cause that he is a papist, which challenge shall be allowed.¹

VI. No attorney or solicitor shall have a papist as apprentice or clerk, under penalty of £50.

6 Anne c. 11, ordains that 'when robberies are committed on the coasts by French privateers and other enemies of her Majesty and her kingdom, the persons so robbed shall be reimbursed from the lands and goods of all the Popish inhabitants where such robbery shall be committed.'

¹ 'The spirit of this enactment,' says Mitchel, 'and the practice it introduced have continued to the present moment; and at this very time, on trials for political offences, Catholics who have been summoned are usually challenged and set aside.'—*H. of Ireland*, p. 44.

6 Anne c. 16, *An Act for the more effectual preventing the taking away and marrying children against the will of their parents.*

VI. If any popish priest shall after November 1st, 1707, presume to celebrate matrimony between any persons, knowing at the time that they or either of them is of the protestant religion, every popish priest so offending and convicted shall be judged and reputed a popish regular, and suffer all the pains of a popish regular.

8 Anne c. 3, *An Act for explaining and amending an Act entitled An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery.*

I. No papist or any other in trust for a papist shall after May 10th, 1709, be capable to have or receive any annuity for life or term of years, determinable on any life or lives, or estate chargeable on lands, and all judgments, securities, made to any papist or any other person in trust for and to the use of such papist for securing such annuity, &c., as may affect lands of such papists, are declared null and void.¹

III. When any child of a popish parent conforms to the protestant religion, it shall be lawful for the Court of Chancery to oblige the popish parent to discover on oath the full value of his estate, personal and real, and thereupon to make such order for the support and maintenance of such child as the Court shall think fit, not to exceed one third of the personal and real estate.

VI. All settlements, conveyances of lands, &c., made by papists or by protestants turned papists since January 1st, 1704, whereby any protestant is barred of any estate in reversion whereunto such protestant was entitled at the time of making such conveyance, shall be null and void.

XI. No person who has turned or shall turn from the popish to the protestant religion is to be deemed a protestant within the intention of this or the former Act, unless within six months after declaring himself a protestant or after he shall attain the age of 18 years, or within three months after he shall return into this kingdom, he do, before December 25th, 1709, receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper and subscribe the Declaration pursuant to the Act entitled *An Act to prevent the further growth of popery*, and shall also take the oath of abjuration, and shall file in the Court of Chancery or some other of the Four Courts at Dublin a certificate thereof.

¹ The object of this Section of the Act, as stated in the preamble, was to prevent 2 Anne c. 7, from being eluded by settlements on Papists. 'The Penal Code,' says Lecky, 'as it was actually carried out, was much less inspired by fanaticism than by rapacity, and was directed less against the Catholic religion than against the property and industry of its professors.' *Hist. of Ireland*, i. 152, and Young's *Tour in Ireland*, ii. 141.

XII. Everyone that is or shall be converted from the popish to the protestant religion, and shall hold any employment, office, or place of profit from her Majesty, or be a member of either house of parliament, or barrister at law, attorney, or solicitor, or officer in any of the courts of law, shall cause all his children under the age of fourteen at the time of such conversion to be educated in the protestant religion, and for default thereof such employment is hereby declared void, and such member is declared incapable to sit or vote in either House of parliament, and such barrister and solicitor incapable of practising as barrister, &c., privately or publicly, in any of the Courts aforesaid.

XIV. Whereas several persons of the popish religion in the settlements of their estates have power given to settle in jointure on any wife lands or rent-charge out of lands, and after such settlement such person has married or may marry some woman of the popish religion, which woman, after such marriage, may be inclined to become of the protestant religion, but may be deterred by reason that her popish husband has not executed such power to appoint a jointure nor will do the same after she is become a protestant as aforesaid; if such woman shall become a protestant and enrol a certificate thereof from the bishop of the diocese and receive the sacrament, if she survive her said popish husband she shall enjoy such provision as the Lord Chancellor shall think reasonable and fit to adjudge.

XVI. Whatever person of the popish religion shall publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm, or be entertained to instruct youth as usher by any protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed a popish regular clergyman and prosecuted as such . . . and no person after November 1st, 1709, shall be qualified to teach or keep school publicly, or instruct youth in any private house, or as usher or assistant to any protestant schoolmaster, who shall not first at the next general assizes or quarter sessions of the place where he resides take the oath of abjuration, under a penalty of £10. And anyone entertaining one not qualified as aforesaid as tutor, &c., shall forfeit £10 for every such offence, a moiety to go to the informer.¹

XVII. The Act of 2 Anne c. 3, *An Act to prevent popish priests from coming into this kingdom*, which was to be in force for fourteen years, and the Act 4 Anne c. 2, *An Act to explain and amend an Act for the registration of popish clergy*, which was to continue to the end of the then next session of parliament, are hereby made perpetual.

XVIII. Every popish priest who turned protestant or shall be converted within seven years from September 1st, 1709, shall receive the sum of £30

¹ The reason given for this Section of the Act is, that persons of the popish religion, when prosecuted in one county, went into other counties and kept school there; such persons were often employed by Protestant schoolmasters, in order to increase the number of their scholars. *Irish Statutes*, iv. 108.

yearly, until he is otherwise provided for, to be levied on the county where he last resided.

XIX. No popish parish priest shall keep or have any popish curate; if he does he shall lose the benefit of being registered, and shall incur all the pains and penalties of a popish regular, and shall be prosecuted as such; and every such popish curate shall be deemed a popish regular and proceeded against accordingly.

XX. Any person after September 1st, 1709, who shall discover any Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Jesuit, Monk, Friar, or any other regular popish clergyman or any papist exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or any secular popish clergyman not legally registered, or any popish schoolmaster, or any papist instructing youth in private houses as tutor or usher, shall receive as reward £50 on conviction for every Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar General, or other person exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this kingdom; the sum of £20 for each regular clergyman and secular clergyman not registered; and the sum of £10 for each popish schoolmaster, tutor, usher; to be levied on the popish inhabitants of the county or town where such clergyman did officiate or where such schoolmaster did most commonly reside.¹

XXI. Any two justices of the peace, whereof one to be a quorum, by warrant may summon any popish person of the age of sixteen and upwards to appear before them, and if he refuses to give testimony on oath where and when he was present at the celebration of the popish Mass, and who celebrated the same, and who and what persons were present, and touching the residence of any popish regular clergyman or any such popish secular priest as aforesaid, or of any popish schoolmaster, who may be disguised, concealed, or itinerant in the country, and such person refusing to appear or answer shall be committed by the said justices to the common jail for the space of twelve months unless he pays down a sum not exceeding £20, to be paid to the minister and churchwardens for the use of the poor of the parish.

XXII. Every popish priest registered in pursuance of the former Act for registering the popish clergy shall take the oath of abjuration² before March 25th, 1710, in the Four Courts at Dublin, or at some quarter sessions for the respective counties, cities, or towns, where such popish priests have been registered; and upon neglect or refusal such popish clergyman shall suffer such penalties as a popish regular clergyman convicted by the laws of this realm is liable to.

¹ This Act gave rise to that class known by the name of priest-hunters, who were as odious to Protestants as they were to Catholics. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 160.

² This section of the Act put an end to the very limited toleration given by the registering of the clergy, since it required them to renounce the Catholic faith. See the oath at p. 56, *antea*.

XXIII. It shall be lawful for any two justices of the peace to summon any man of the age of sixteen and upwards, to appear before them and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration; and if he neglects or refuses to appear, or appearing refuses to take the oath, it shall be lawful for them to commit him to the common gaol for three months unless he pays a sum not exceeding 40 shillings; and after the space of three months after such refusal it shall be lawful to summon such offender to take the oath, and if he neglects or refuses, he may be committed to gaol for six months unless he pays down a sum of money not exceeding £10 nor under £5, as the justices shall require; and he shall be bound with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes or general quarter sessions; at which the said oath shall be tendered to him by the justices, and if he refuse to take and subscribe the said oath, he shall incur the penalties of præmunire.

XXV. After September 1st, 1709, no popish priest shall officiate or exercise the office of parish priest in any parish but in that where he did officiate at the time of registering the popish clergy of this kingdom and for which parish he was registered, and in no other parish whatever, under the penalties as any popish regular convict is liable to.¹

XXVI. If any popish priest shall after September 1st, 1709, be prosecuted for offending contrary to 6 Anne c. 16,² and that it doth appear that the persons so married or any one of them was a protestant at the time of the marriage, it shall be presumed and concluded to all intents and purposes that the said popish priest did celebrate matrimony between the said persons, knowing at the time that they or one of them were of the protestant religion, unless the said popish priest shall produce a certificate of the minister of the parish where the parties so married resided certifying that they were not of the protestant religion.

XXVII. Whereas several papists and others in trust for them have purchased lands and taken leases and securities, mortgages, &c., all such are declared void to such so purchasing in trust for any papist and his heirs, and all lands leased and conveyed, or to be leased and conveyed to any papist or to the use of any papist, may be sued for by any protestant, and the plaintiff upon proof shall recover the same and have execution to be put in possession of such lands.

XXVIII. Every papist who has purchased lands in fee simple or any leases for years, or lent money on mortgages, and has, on or before 25th December, 1709, become a protestant, and shall cause his children under the age of 14, from his conversion, to be educated in the protestant religion, the purchase, lease, mortgage, &c., shall be as good as if he had been a protestant at the time of such purchase, &c.

¹ 2 Anne c. 7, allowed the parish priest to exercise his office in the county where he was registered. This Act confines him to his own parish.

² See p. 62, *antea*.

XXXI. Every popish Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar-General, Dean, Jesuit, Friar, and papist exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and every popish priest, popish schoolmaster, who by offending against this or any former Act, is liable to transportation, shall within three months be transmitted by order of the justices of assize to the common jail of the next seaport, where he shall remain without bail till he is transported.

XXXII. If any merchant freighting a ship shall refuse to receive the body of such popish priest or schoolmaster, not exceeding five in any one ship, the collectors of her Majesty's customs are hereby required not to discharge such ship until the merchant or master shall consent so to do. And for an encouragement to the said merchant and master, the collector of the port is hereby required to pay to the said merchant or master £5 sterling for transportation of every such person to any part of the West Indies not being subject to her Majesty, and £3 to any port in Europe not being within her Majesty's dominions.

XXXIII. Any popish regular clergyman, priest, or schoolmaster found in this kingdom out of the custody of said merchant or master, shall suffer such penalties as are inflicted on any popish clergyman who hath been banished and returned again to this kingdom. And the merchant or master receiving the said sum from the collector and receiving the body of such popish priest or schoolmaster, shall enter into recognizance to her Majesty in the penalty of £50, to transport the said popish person into some place not within this kingdom of Great Britain, or the dominions thereunto belonging.

XXXVII. No papist who is or shall be permitted to follow any trade, &c., shall hereafter keep more than two apprentices at a time at any such trade, except the flaxen manufacture, and for no less a term of apprenticeship than seven years, under penalty of £100 for every such offence.

In 1709, at the request of several influential persons, eight hundred Protestant families were brought over from Germany, and a sum of £25,000 was voted out of the revenue for their maintenance. They got lands too in various parts of the country.¹ The object of this measure seems to have been to drive the Roman Catholics out of the kingdom, which effect it certainly produced to a great extent.² The plan, however, did not give complete satisfaction to its authors, for two years later the Lords complained to the Queen 'of the load which the bringing over of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them.'³

¹ Chiefly on the Southwell property, near Rathkeale, Co. Limerick.

² Curry, *Civil Wars*, ii. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGNS OF GEORGE I., GEORGE II., AND GEORGE III.
(1714 TO 1820).

The Penal Laws Enforced—The Pretender—Militia Act—Galway—Marriage Act—The Franchise—Charter Schools—Kidnapping Act.

COMPARATIVELY few new enactments were made during the reign of George I. in aggravation of the penal code. But resolutions of the parliament were passed from time to time, 'recommending to the magistrates the indispensable duty of putting the existing laws against Popish priests into immediate and rigorous execution, and declaring that those who neglected to do so should be looked on as enemies of the Constitution.'¹ In fact, the penal laws against Catholics were enforced during the whole of this reign with more than customary ferocity. In many places chapels were shut up, priests were dragged from their hiding places, sometimes from the very altars, hurried into loathsome dungeons, and then banished for ever from their native country. Such laws as affected the property of Catholics necessarily executed themselves.²

During the rising in Scotland in favour of the Pretender in 1715 there was no attempt whatever at any insurrection in Ireland. This is admitted even in the preamble to 2 George I. c. 9: *An Act to make the militia of this kingdom more useful*, where mention is made of 'frequent rebellions formerly raised in this kingdom by the popish inhabitants of the same, and of the just reason to apprehend that the main body of papists in this her Majesty's kingdom may hereafter again endeavour to disturb the public peace and tranquillity.' But nothing whatever is said of any attempt made just then. Whether their peaceful attitude was

¹ *Commons' Journals*, iii. 60.

² Curry, *Civil Wars*, ii. 251; Lecky, *H. of Ireland*, i. 261. This writer gives several instances of the capture and banishment of priests.

due to a spirit of loyalty to the House of Hanover, or to disgust at the ingratitude of the Stuarts, or, a more likely reason, to the total helplessness and prostration of the whole Irish people at the time, it is not easy to determine. The danger once passed, however, the legislature was once more free to add to their burthens.

2 George I. c. 9: *An Act to make the militia of the kingdom more useful.*

IV. The popish inhabitants or any one who shall refuse to take the oath of abjuration, shall pay double the sum they should have paid by virtue of this Act in case they had been protestants.

XI. It shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant to authorize all civil officers, when the peace and safety of the kingdom are in danger, to seize the horses belonging to papists, and detain the same during ten days; during which time it shall be lawful for such officer to tender the sum of £5, to be paid to the former owner of the horse, and on payment of such sum the property of such horse shall rest in such officer serving in the militia.

c. 10 restrains papists from being high or petty constables.

c. 19: *An Act for preventing fraudulent conveyances in order to multiply votes for electing members of Parliament.*

VII. After June 24th, 1716, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant, being a papist, shall be admitted to give his vote in the election of knights for any shire or county to serve in parliament, unless such person shall have taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration at least six months before the day of such election, and shall also take the said oaths at the day of election if required to do so; under penalty of £100, one moiety thereof to his Majesty, the other to the informer.¹

4 George I. c. 15: *An Act for the better regulating the town of Galway and strengthening the Protestant interest therein.*

I. Whereas for several years past there has been a design carried out by the magistrates and governing part of the corporation to support a popish interest and discourage the protestant interest within the town of Galway, in pursuance of which nunneries² and other places of shelter for regular and secular priests

¹ This section of the Act gives greater effect to 2 Anne c. 6, s. 24. by the increased penalty imposed by it.

² The Dominican Nuns were driven from Galway by Lord Chancellor Phipps in 1717. They established themselves in Dublin soon after. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 354.

have been connived at and encouraged within the said town, and great numbers of papists are permitted to inhabit the town, contrary to law, whereby a sufficient number of protestant freeholders cannot be found in the said town to try offenders against the several Acts now in force against papists; from December 25th, 1717, it shall be lawful for the sheriffs of the town to issue their summons to any protestant freeholder having 40 shillings a year in the county of Galway to serve on any grand or petty jury.

V. Tradesmen coming to dwell in the town are declared free of the town and corporation without paying anything for such freedom.

VI. Provided they have been protestants for seven years before their demanding their freedom pursuant to this Act.

6 George I. c. 3, s. 4, continuing the Militia Act 2 George I. c. 9, enacts that upon each day of the drawing out of the militia, the justices of the peace may levy 20 shillings for the refreshment of each troop or company upon the popish inhabitants of the county.

6 George I. c. 10: *An Act for the better regulating of the Parish Watches.*

IV. Although in time of peace and tranquillity the papists as well as the protestants may be permitted to watch promiscuously in their turns, yet in times of tumult and danger the said watchmen be of the protestant religion. . . . As often as it shall come to the turn of the papists to watch, such papists shall provide protestants approved of by a justice of the peace to watch in their turn; and for default thereof the said justice is required to appoint protestants instead of such papists, and to issue a warrant for the sale of the goods of such papists for the sum of 12d. for each night, to be paid to such protestants as shall watch in the turn of such papists.

12 George I. c. 3: *An Act to prevent marriages by degraded clergymen and popish priests*, makes it felony punishable with death without benefit of the clergy or the statute in a popish priest to marry two persons when either or both are Protestants.¹ By 19 George II. c. 13, such marriages are declared null and void.

1 George II. c. 9: *An Act for the better regulating the election of members of Parliament, and preventing the irregular proceedings of sheriffs and other officers in electing and returning such members.*

¹ In 1726 Timothy Ryan, an irregular and excommunicated priest, was tried, convicted, and executed at Gallows Green (Limerick) for marrying a Protestant and a Roman Catholic together. He was the first executed for that crime since the Act of Parliament was passed against it. Ferrar, *H. of Limerick*, p. 61; Limerick, 1767.

VII. No papist, though not convict, shall be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in parliament or of any magistrate for any city or town corporate.

This section of the Act, we are told, was introduced into it by a ruse of Boulter, the Protestant Primate, the great upholder of the English interest in Ireland. He feared that the Catholics would give their support to the Patriot party, and for this reason deprived them of the sole means of influencing any public measure in future. The total disfranchisement of by far the greater part of a large people was conducted with that perfect nonchalance, which is the general attendant on a power that feels its own security. The clause by which it was effected was introduced by way of amendment, without notice, and was passed without debate.¹

1 George II. c. 20: *An Act for regulating the admission of barristers at law, attorneys, and of other persons into offices and employments, and for preventing papists practising as solicitors, and for further strengthening the Protestant interest in this kingdom.*

I. Everyone who from August 1st, 1728, shall apply to be called to the bar or to act as officer in any court of law, shall, before such application, subscribe the oaths and declaration mentioned in 2 Anne c. 6;² and every person converted from the popish to the protestant religion or born of a popish parent or parents who shall after August 1st, 1728, apply to be called to the bar or to be admitted to practise as solicitor, shall upon such application prove before the Lord Chancellor or two chief justices, by sufficient witness on oath, that he has professed himself and continued to be a protestant for the space of two years before the time of making such proof.

II. Every person after August 1st, 1728, so called to the bar, &c., who is or shall be converted from the popish religion, shall educate in the protestant religion all his children who at the time of his admission shall be under the age of fourteen, or shall be born after such time.

III. Any person now or hereafter converted from the popish to the protestant religion who shall after August 1st, 1728, or after the time of his conversion, educate or knowingly permit his children to be educated in the popish religion, shall be subject to all the disabilities and disqualifications of persons professing the popish religion.³

¹ Brown, *Account of the Laws enacted against Catholics*, p. 291.

² See page 56, *antea*.

³ This section increases the penalties imposed on such persons by 8 Anne c. 3, s. 12.

VI. If any protestant, or person professing himself a protestant, shall from August 1st, 1728, educate or knowingly suffer his children (not above the age of 14) to be educated in the popish religion, he shall be subject to such incapacities and disabilities as persons professing the popish religion.

7 George II. c. 6: *An Act to prevent persons converted from the Popish to the Protestant religion, and married to Popish wives, or educating their children in the Popish religion, from acting as Justices of the Peace.*

The object of the Act is that 'no persons but such as are of known affection to the Protestant religion and our present happy establishment,' should be justices of the peace in any part of the kingdom. The penalty is one year's imprisonment without bail, and a fine of £100, one moiety to his Majesty, the other to anyone that shall sue for the same.

19 George II. c. 11, *An Act for the better regulating Elections for Members to serve in Parliament.*

IV. After May 1st, 1746, every freeholder, before he is admitted to poll at elections for members to serve in parliament, shall take the following oath: I, A.B., do swear that I have a freehold, and that I am not a papist, or married to a papist, nor do I educate or suffer to be educated any of my children under the age of fourteen in the popish religion.

VI. Where any person who was educated in the popish religion and shall have conformed to the Church of Ireland shall tender his vote, the words, 'I am not married to a papist,' shall be omitted, and instead shall be inserted: 'I was educated in the popish religion and have conformed to the Church of Ireland, and have not since my conformity married a popish wife.' And every one who shall swear contrary to the true meaning of the Act, shall suffer such penalties as persons convicted of wilful perjury.

In 1733 the Charter Schools were established, on the petition of the Protestant Primate Boulter, the Lord Chancellor, and several Protestant Bishops, noblemen, and others, 'to instruct the people in the principles of religion and loyalty.' 'The great number of papists in the kingdom,' wrote Boulter, 'and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what may be done with their children to bring them over to our Church.'¹ In consequence of this petition the King granted a

¹ *Letters*, ii. 10.

charter¹ incorporating a permanent body of the Protestant clergy for the management of these schools. About forty of them were set up throughout the country.² They were at first supported by private donations, the King contributing £1,000. But soon the parliament took them up as a national concern, and during the ninety years that the Incorporated Society of the Charter Schools was in existence, it received of the public money the sum of £1,600,000, not to speak of private benefactions, though the average number of pupils did not exceed 1,500. Children were received into the schools between the ages of six and ten, fed, clothed, and educated, and in due time apprenticed to Protestant masters. When once received, they could not be withdrawn, nor could they hold any communication with their parents; and to cut off all intercourse with their families, they were sent to remote parts of the country. Later, nurseries were established in Dublin and several other towns to receive infant children, who were afterwards to pass into the Charter Schools. Several Acts of parliament, as we shall see, were passed in favour of these schools. In 1788 Howard, the philanthropist, visited them. He declared the numbers of the pupils to be grossly and systematically exaggerated in the official documents, the children to be, for the most part, sickly, starved, and half-naked, and the state of most of the schools which he visited 'so deplorable as to disgrace Protestantism and to encourage Popery in Ireland rather than the contrary.'³ Nevertheless the system continued for half a century longer.

19 George II. c. 5: *An Act for licensing hawkers and pedlars and for the encouragement of English Protestant Schools*, orders that the tax of 20 shillings a year paid by hawkers travelling on foot, and of 40 shillings a year by those travelling with a horse, shall be given for the support of the Charter Schools, without any deduction. This Statute was re-enacted several times.

Moreover, several Acts granted large sums to be expended in giving apprentice fees with children educated in the Foundling

¹ A detailed account of these schools will be found in B. O'Brien's *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, i. 46.

² Their number in 1769 was fifty-two.

³ *Fifty years of Concessions*, i. 57.

Hospital, Dublin; and it is expressly provided by these Acts that they should be bound to none but Protestant masters.

23 George II. c. 11: *An Act to provide for begging children and for the better regulation of Charity Schools*.¹

I. From Sept. 29th, 1750, it shall be lawful for the Incorporate Society to appoint as many persons as they shall think proper in every province to take up all the children they shall find begging between the ages of five and twelve, and to convey them to such Charter School as lies convenient to them, and when of proper age to bind such child to any protestant master or mistress till he arrives at the age of twenty-one years. . . . And if any such child withdraw himself from such Charter School without license of the master, he shall be punished in such manner as hired servants departing their master's service within the time for which they are hired.

VII. If any person shall entice to run away, or forcibly carry away, or attempt to carry away, any child placed or going to be placed in any of the said Charter Schools or shall conceal or entertain such child, being lawfully convicted thereof, he shall be committed to the house of correction for six months with hard labour. Any child once received into any Charter School, with the consent of his father or mother, shall thenceforth be reputed the child of the public; and it shall be lawful for the Society to detain and dispose of such child in the manner aforesaid, notwithstanding any claim of right to such child made by the father or mother. And in case any child shall have been received into any of the Charter Schools at the request of any person being or pretending to be the relative or friend of such child without the consent of the father or mother, such child shall likewise be the child of the public, and it shall be lawful for the Society to detain such child unless the father or mother shall, within three months after its reception into the Charter School, claim the same as having been placed there without their consent, and shall make proof by oath before a justice of the peace of his or her being the father or mother of such child, and shall pay into the hands of the local committee of the Charter School the sum of two shillings for every week the child has been maintained in the school; in which case the child shall be restored to the father or mother claiming the same.

As in 1715, so in 1745, there was no support given in Ireland to the attempt of the Stuarts to seize on the English throne. The tranquil state of this country just then has been attributed by some writers to the liberal policy of Lord Chesterfield, who was Lord Lieutenant in the latter part of 1745 and the beginning of 1746. He opened to the Catholics their places of worship, released their

¹ This was commonly known as the Kidnapping Act.

priests out of prison, and allowed them the undisturbed exercise of their religion.¹ It is not easy to reconcile this statement with the speech which he made at the opening of the parliament of 1745. 'The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of Popery have, I hope, had some, and will, I hope, have a still greater effect. However, I leave it to your consideration whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of Papists whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorize restraint.' Burke gives the following estimate of his character:—'This man, while he was duping the credulity of the Papists with fine words in private, and commending their good behaviour during a rebellion in Great Britain, as it well deserved to be commended and rewarded, was capable of urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne, and of stimulating with provocatives the wearied and half-exhausted bigotry of the then Parliament of Ireland.'²

In 1778, 27 and 28 George III. c. 49, *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Subjects Professing the Popish Religion* was passed. It enabled Catholics to take land on leases for any term not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or for any term of lives not exceeding four. It repealed 2 Anne c. 6, s. 2, which allowed children of Popish parents who conformed to the Protestant religion to make their fathers mere tenants for life of their estates. But no benefit was to accrue from this Act to anyone who, having been converted from the Popish to the Protestant religion, should relapse to Popery, or who should allow a child of his under fourteen years of age to be educated in the Popish religion.

¹ Plowden, *Hist. Review*, i. 295. Taaffe attributes this partial toleration to the efforts of Lord Taaffe, who was Austrian Ambassador at the Court of England. He was an intimate friend of George II. *History of Ireland*, iv. 61.

² 'Letter to a Peer of Ireland.'—*Works*, i. 541. In 1759, Bowes, the Lord Chancellor, declared from the bench that 'the law did not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the Government.' Scully, *Penal Laws*, p. 328. See also Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i. 322, and Appendix lxiii.

31 and 32 George III. c. 24, repealed various provisions of the penal laws against Catholics who should have taken the oath of allegiance, enabling them to hold and dispose of lands as Protestants. But no benefit of the Act was to extend to any ecclesiastic officiating in a church or chapel¹ with a steeple or bell, or attending any funeral in a churchyard, or exercising any religious function except in a place of worship or a private house, or who used any symbol of ecclesiastical authority, or assumed any ecclesiastical rank or title, such persons being still liable to all the penalties of the law. Several other provisions of a similar kind are to be found in the Relief Act of 1782.² The most extensive measure of Relief was 33 George III. c. 21, which opened to Catholics the professions of barrister and attorney on taking the oath of allegiance, also certain civil offices and places of trust, while excluding them from parliament, the Privy Council, the offices of Viceroy, Chancellor, Judge, or any high legal post, or that of sheriff or corporate officer, and forbidding any Popish priest to celebrate marriage between two Protestants or between a Papist and a person who had been a Protestant within twelve months, under a fine of £500; the marriage was also null. It continued all the then existing restrictions on members of Religious Orders.³

It is beside our purpose to narrate the history⁴ of the efforts made by Curry,⁵ O'Connor, Wyse, aided by Grattan, Ponsonby, Hussey Burgh, and Malone, to obtain for the Catholics the rights to which as citizens of a free country they were entitled. The struggle was a long and weary one. It was only in 1829 that it may be said to have been brought to a successful issue, chiefly by the matchless talents and unwearied energy of Daniel O'Connell.

¹ In 1787 Lord Clare introduced a Bill, to pull down all Catholic chapels in which an illegal oath had been administered. It is said that on his deathbed he wished to become a Catholic.—*Fitzpatrick's Memoirs of Lord Clancurry*, p. 251. His father was the first Protestant of the family.

² See Burke's 'Letter to a Peer of Ireland.' *Works*, i. 541.

³ The Penal Laws to which Catholics were subject after 1793 are given in Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, p. 173.

⁴ See Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*.

⁵ He was obliged to publish his *Historical Account of the Civil Wars in Ireland* anonymously. Charles O'Connor tells in the *Life* of the author prefixed to the work the incident which gave rise to the writing of it.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ACT OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

IT is commonly believed that 10 George IV. c. 7, *An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects*, commonly known as the *Act of Emancipation*, repealed all the penal laws, and placed the Catholics of Ireland in a position of perfect equality with the rest of their countrymen. The truth is, this Act not only left several Penal Acts unrepealed, but created many new disabilities and made certain provisions of former Acts more severe than they were before. The Act contains 40 sections of which the following are strictly penal¹:—

IX. No person in Holy Orders in the Church of Rome shall be capable of being elected to serve in parliament as a Member of the House of Commons, and if any such person shall be elected as aforesaid, such election shall be void; and if any person being elected shall after his election take Holy Orders in the Church of Rome, the seat of such person shall immediately become void.

XII. Nothing herein contained shall extend to enable any person professing the Roman Catholic religion to hold the office of Justices of the United Kingdom, or Regent, or Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

XIX. Every person professing the Roman Catholic religion who shall be chosen to the office of Mayor, Provost, Alderman, Recorder, Magistrate, Councillor . . . shall within one month next before his admission into any of the same take the oath herein appointed.

XXI. Any person professing the Roman Catholic religion not having taken the oath herein appointed in every such case, shall forfeit to his Majesty the sum of £200, and the appointment shall become altogether void.

XXIV. If any person other than the person authorised by law shall assume or use the name, style, or title of any Archbishop, Bishop, or Dean, he shall for every such offence forfeit £100.

XXV. If any person holding any judicial or civil office, or any Mayor, Provost, Bailiff, or any other Corporate Officer, shall be present at any place or meeting for religious worship other than that of the United Church of

England and Ireland in the robe, gown, or other peculiar habit of his office, or attend with the insignia or any part thereof of such office, being thereof convicted, he shall forfeit such office, and pay for every such offence the sum of £100.

XXVI. If any Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic or any member of any of the Communities or Societies aftermentioned shall exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the habit of his Order save within the usual places of worship, or in private houses, such person being convicted thereof, shall forfeit for every such offence the sum of £50.

XXVIII. Whereas Jesuits, and members of other Religious Orders, Communities, or Societies of the Church of Rome bound by monastic or religious vows, are resident within the kingdom, and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and final prohibition of the same therein; it is enacted that every Jesuit and every member of any other religious Community shall within six months after the commencement of this Act deliver to the Clerk of the Peace of the county or place where he resides notice of his name, age, place of birth, the name of the Order, and of the immediate superior of the Order, and his usual place of residence . . . and in case he offend in the premisses, he shall forfeit to his Majesty, for every month he shall remain in the United Kingdom without having delivered such notice, the sum of £50.

XXIX. If any Jesuit, etc., shall after the commencement of this Act come into this realm, he shall be taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted shall be sentenced to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXX. In case any natural-born subject of this realm being at the commencement of this Act a Jesuit or other member of a Religious Order, shall be out of the realm, it shall be lawful for such person to return to this realm; and he is required within six months to deliver such notice, under a penalty of £50.

XXXI. It shall be lawful for any one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, being a Protestant, by licence in writing signed by him to grant permission to any Jesuit, etc., to come into the United Kingdom and remain there for such period as the said Secretary of State shall think proper, not exceeding in any case six calendar months; and it shall be lawful for him to revoke such licence before the expiration of the time, and if the person to whom such licence is granted shall not depart within twenty days after the expiration or revocation of such licence, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being lawfully convicted thereof he shall be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXXIII. In case any Jesuit, etc., shall within any part of the United Kingdom admit any person to become a member of such Religious Order, etc., or administer any oath, vow, or engagement to bind the person taking the same to the Rules, etc., of such Religious Order, every person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

XXXIV. Any person admitted a Jesuit, etc., shall be deemed guilty of a

¹ See Madden's *Historical Notices of the Penal Laws*, p. 69.

misdemeanour,¹ and being thereof lawfully convicted shall be sentenced to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXXV. Any person so sentenced who shall not depart from the United Kingdom within twenty days after pronouncing such sentence, it shall be lawful for his Majesty to cause such person to be conveyed to such place out of the United Kingdom as his Majesty by the advice of his Privy Council shall direct.

XXXVI. If any offender so sentenced shall, after the end of three Calendar Months from the time such sentence has been pronounced, be at large within any part of the United Kingdom without some lawful cause, such offender shall be transported to such place as shall be appointed by his Majesty for the term of his natural life.

XXXVII. Nothing herein shall extend in any manner to affect any Religious Order, Community, or establishment consisting of females bound by religious or monastic vows.

The following is the oath enjoined by the Act to be taken by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion :—

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to and to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power the succession of the Crown and I do further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or by any other authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any other person whomsoever, and I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, Person, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence directly or indirectly within this realm I do hereby disclaim and disavow any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law within this realm. And I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government of the United Kingdom, and I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever. So help me God.²

¹ On the ground that entering a Religious Order was a misdemeanour, Lord Chancellor Blackburne decided that the bequest of a sum of money for the maintenance of Dominican priests was invalid. See Madden's *Penal Laws*, p. 70.

² This oath being in many respects objectionable and offensive, attempts were made in 1858 and 1865 to repeal it. See Sir John Gray's speech in the Dublin Corporation, March 17th, and the debates in the Houses of Parliament, March 21st, 1865, *Ibid.*, pp. 86 and 112.

OUR MARTYRS.

OUR MARTYRS.

1535. VENERABLE JOHN TRAVERS,¹ O.S.A.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 426.)

THE first of our martyrs in later times mentioned by name, for others no doubt preceded him whose names are written only in the Book of Life, was John Travers, a native of Dublin, a priest of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, and a Doctor of Theology.

He wrote anonymously a famous work bearing the title : *On the Authority of the Roman Pontiff*.² In it he proved clearly that the primacy of Henry VIII. was a mere fiction, and only a name, without any foundation in fact or in reason. Whereupon he was seized by the King's ministers and sent to London. He was kept in the Tower for four months in succession. During that time he was examined on four different occasions, and put to various kinds of torture, and being found faithful and steadfast, he was declared guilty of high treason by Cromwell and the other flatterers of the King. He was led out, as is the custom among the English, his hands tied behind his back and a rope round his neck, placed on a hurdle, and taken in this manner to the usual place³ of execution. When he reached the top of the ladder leading to the gallows, he prayed for pardon, and heartily exhorted the bystanders to pray earnestly to God, the refuge of sinners, for the conversion

¹ Bruodin writes the name Tanner ; but it is usually written as above. The complete identity of the facts given under both names by the different authors shows that they refer to one person only, not to two, whatever his name may have been.

² Though I have searched for this book, I have not been able to find a copy of it in any library in this country.

³ Tyburn, close to the present Marble Arch. A stone marks the spot where Tyburn Gate stood.

and salvation of the King and of all the mad heretics who adhered to him. And then he exclaimed in a loud voice: 'It is not for any crime, Christian hearers, that I have been sent hither from Ireland, my native country, but rather because I professed the Catholic faith, which I, like my ancestors, have drunk in with my mother's milk; and also, because I am supposed to be the author of a certain work lately spread abroad among the Catholics. The moment of my death is now close at hand, which will surely open for me the door to eternal life. Hence it behoves me not to use any ambiguous or obscure language for the purpose of concealing the truth. Wherefore I declare openly that I am a priest of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and, moreover, that it was with these three fingers,' and he raised aloft the three first fingers of his right hand, 'I wrote that work on the Authority of the Roman Pontiff.' When he had said these words, the sheriff gave the order; he was hanged, cut down before life was quite extinct, and quartered. A wonderful thing then took place. His right hand and his intestines were cast into the fire; and while the other parts were reduced to ashes, the three fingers of his right hand which he had raised aloft on the scaffold, were seen in a like position in the midst of the flames, and afterwards were found whole and fresh, as if they had never been cast into the fire, like the right hand of King Oswald, the martyr, which the Venerable Bede¹ tells us remained up to his own time fresh and uncorrupted, in token, no doubt, of the divine approval of his charity to the poor. Harpsfield² says he was assured by eye-witnesses that the flesh on the martyr's fingers remained fresh long after his death.

O'Sullivan says Travers was put to death on the 30th of July; Fitzsimon, on the 31st. He is one of the two

¹ *Hist. Eccl. Angl.*, iii. 6.

² In whose work he is called Gravesius, no doubt a misprint for Traversius. See *Dial.*, p. 995.

hundred and sixty-one Venerable Servants of God put to death in England for the faith, whose cause of beatification or declaration of martyrdom has been allowed by the decree of December 4th, 1886, to be introduced in the Sacred Congregation of Rites.¹

See also Harpsfield, Bridgewater, Fitzsimon, White, Copinger, O'Sullivan, O'Daly, and Lynch.

1539. ROBERT AND OTHER BRETHREN OF THE TRINITARIAN CONVENT, ADARE.

(From Lopez' *Noticias Historicas*, p. 150.)

THE convent of Adare was the first house of the Order² in this country. It was founded in 1230 by Thomas Fitzgerald,³ third son of the second Baron of Offaly, at the suggestion of the Earl of March, a Scotch nobleman, who was a patron of the Order. The Minister⁴ of this convent in 1539 was Brother Robert. It was at this time that the impious decrees of the King were published, and officials sent to put them into execution. Having read the decrees and mastered their contents, Robert summoned the Community, which then consisted of forty-two members, told them what the new doctrines were, and declared that the King was a heretic, and, moreover, that he sought to make them share in his crime. Such was the impression which he made on his hearers that all declared they were ready to lay down their lives in defence of the Catholic faith and of

¹ See Pollen's *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 378, where 1539 is given as the date of his martyrdom.

² 'La casa capital de la Isla,' says Lopez, p. 19. The church is now the Catholic parochial church. Some parts of the convent are still standing. See Lord Dunraven's *Mementos of Adare*, p. 36. Adare is 9 miles S.W. of Limerick.

³ Lopez, p. 18, and the *Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, p. 19.

⁴ This is the name of the Superior of a convent of this Order.

the Pope's supremacy; and knowing that the convent would be plundered immediately, they set to work at once to distribute among the poor all the provisions and clothing they had. They hid away the sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar in various places, so that when the agents of the Government arrived, they could not find even a wooden crucifix on which to vent their impious rage. Three times summoned before the magistrate, Father Robert was immovable in rejecting the honours offered to him by the Court, and in declaring his devoted attachment to the Catholic faith. None, he said, had ever sought to propagate their religious tenets by the sword except the pagan Emperors in the early ages and Mahomet in later times. As for himself and the Community, they were determined that no violence should move them from the principles of truth. They recognised no Head of the Catholic Church save the Vicar of Christ; and as for the King of England, they regarded him not even as a member of that holy Church, but as the Head of the synagogue of Satan.

When the venerable Father had uttered these words, a heretical officer drew his sword, and with one blow severed the holy man's head from his body. The other agents of the Court were at once let loose against the unoffending Community. As the public prison was full of other victims, the religious were confined in private houses. There many died of the injuries and maltreatment which they received. Some too were murdered secretly, whilst others were publicly hanged in the market-place. It was on the 12th and 13th of February, 1539, that these happy Fathers obtained their eternal crown.¹

¹ See Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 23.

1539. PATRICK, HUMBERT, AND OTHERS OF THE TRINITARIAN CONVENT, DUBLIN.

(*Ibid.*, p. 152.)

THE Trinitarian convent¹ of Dublin was one of the principal houses of the Order in Ireland. The building was large and ornamental, its revenues were considerable, and the Community numbered about fifty. On the first news reaching them of the King's wicked design to subvert the Catholic faith and introduce a new creed, the former Provincial, Father Theobald, wrote to his successor suggesting that a meeting of the leading men of the Order should be convened in Dublin, to take the necessary measures in face of the danger that was imminent. The Provincial presided. Besides the superiors of houses, several other members remarkable for their learning and virtue were present; among them we find the names of FF. Thaddeus O'Brien, of Kilkenny, John Hogan, and William Hurley.

When the Chapter had assembled, each gave his opinion, upholding the Catholic faith and the Pope's authority, and declaring the impious decrees of the King to be heretical and the King to be a heresiarch; and putting their trust in the Most Holy Trinity, all took the resolution to lay down their lives in defence of the truth. The conference was just ended when the news came of what had taken place at Adare. F. Theobald exclaimed: 'The Most Holy Trinity has blessed our Order with a happy beginning, and thus given us a pledge that the like grace will accompany us to the end.' All signed a profession of the Catholic faith, which might be distributed among the faithful.

On February 24th the royal agents arrived in Dublin

¹ Founded in 1188 by Alured Le Palmer. It stood on the site now occupied by the Augustinian church, Thomas Street, and was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

to enforce their master's decrees. The next morning the exhortation of the Fathers was found posted in all the public squares and streets. The Provincial and F. Theobald went about preaching to the people. The latter being thought the leader of the resistance, was immediately shot. The Provincial was seized by a hired band and dragged through the streets. He repeated aloud that he would not abandon the faith so long as he had life. The judges ordered the executioners to do their work. A stroke of the hatchet put an end to his life. His ribs were broken, and his heart taken out. His body was thrown on a dunghill. But when night came, the Catholics got possession of his scattered members, and buried them.

The other religious, some of whom had gone out into the streets to preach, while others remained in the convent, were all taken and put to death in divers ways. Some were hanged, others beheaded, some stoned; others in fine were dragged through the streets until they expired; their bodies were cast on the dunghills. These, too, the faithful took away during the night and buried. The triumph of these glorious martyrs took place on the 25th and 26th of February.

See also O'Sullivan.

1539. CORNELIUS O'NEILL, BISHOP OF LIMERICK,¹ AND THE RELIGIOUS OF THE TRINITARIAN CONVENT OF THAT CITY.

(*Ibid.*, p. 154.)

THE Convent of Limerick was dedicated to the Holy

¹ Renehan, however, says he succeeded Hugh Lacy in 1581, and held the See till about 1595. *Collections*, ii. 71. In Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, ii. 44, he is called O'Boyl.

Cross; it was one of the largest of the whole country, its inmates numbering forty-six religious. Cornelius O'Neill, then Bishop of Limerick, had been a religious of the Order, and was much attached to the brethren. He belonged to the princely family of O'Neill of Tyrone. He was remarkable for his charity and humility, and had filled different offices, and of late that of Provincial, with much advantage to the Order. He had been consulted by the King about the divorce from his lawful wife, Queen Catharine, which he wished to bring about, and gave his opinion firmly in her favour. The King was much angered thereat, and declared he would have his revenge.

The Bishop was aware of the dangers that were threatening. He called the Trinitarian Community together, and addressed them in the following words: 'A beginning like this does not lead to a good end. The King and his kingdom are lost. The Catholic Church is in great danger, and heresy will be introduced amongst us unless God's omnipotence protects us.' He advised them to be prepared, to sell all the property of the monastery, even the gold and silver vessels, lest they might be profaned by the enemies of God, and to distribute the money among the poor. He gave a like warning to the other religious Orders, and to the secular clergy under his jurisdiction. When he learned of the destruction of the monastery of Adare and the death of the religious there, he called the brethren together, and solemnly intoning the 'Te Deum,' he earnestly besought the Most Holy Trinity to grant them courage and strength, that they might imitate their brethren who had been martyred.

The Bishop let it be known to the people that he would preach on the feast of St. John in the cathedral. A large congregation assembled. He set before them the grounds of the Catholic faith and of the Pope's authority; he declared that the commands of the King were heretical,

and that he, his counsellors, and all who adhered to him were anathematized; and he concluded by asking from God strength for himself and for all under his care to defend the Catholic faith, even at the peril of their lives. The King's officials were afraid to offer him any violence in the church; but on the evening of that day, some of them went to his house; and being admitted, they told him that he should obey the King's order or suffer instant death. Throwing himself on his knees and raising his eyes to Heaven, he exclaimed: 'Lord, to-day I offered to Thee the unbloody sacrifice of the Body of my Lord Jesus Christ. Now accept the sacrifice of my life, to Thy greater honour and glory.' And then fixing his eyes on a picture of the Most Holy Trinity, he ejaculated: 'Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis.' A moment after the executioner with one blow of the sword severed his head from his body. The officials then went through the house, and seized on the religious who happened to be there, and slew them. Their anger was all the greater when they found that nothing was left for them to plunder.

The Minister and his brother, who had come to visit the Bishop, were seized the next day. They were brought to the public square and ordered to swear obedience to the King. As they refused, they were beheaded on the spot. The other religious in the convent were also asked to take the oath; and as all refused, some were hanged, others slain, others tied to the tails of horses and dragged along until they were dead. And so all triumphed gloriously on the 25th of June, 1539.

'The other convents of the Order,' says Moran, 'Cork, Kilkenny, Ross, Dundalk, Galway, and Cashel, showed the same fortitude. All were plundered of whatever they possessed, and there was not one of them but was adorned with the palm of martyrdom. So universal indeed was the ruin that fell upon this religious Order, that all

vestige of it has disappeared from the subsequent history of our Church.'¹

See also O'Sullivan and Lynch.

1540. THE GUARDIAN AND BRETHREN OF THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT,² MONAGHAN.

(From the *Annals of the Four Masters*, v. 1455.)

THE English throughout every part of Ireland where their power extended, were persecuting and banishing the Orders, and in particular they destroyed the convent of Monaghan, and beheaded the Guardian, with a number of the friars.

In Ward's *Catalogue* the number of religious slain is said to have been sixteen, with their Prior, Patrick O'Brady. The date which he gives is 1589; but as the *Annals of the Four Masters* make no mention of any Franciscans put to death at the later date, we must conclude that both refer to the same fact.

See also *Annals of Loch Cé*, Copinger, Ward, Bruodin, and Hueber.

1541. THE CISTERCIANS OF ST. MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN.

(From Hartry's *Synopsis*, p. 247.)

ST. MARY'S ABBEY³ was for two centuries under the Benedictine rule. It accepted the Cistercian reform about the

¹ *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 26. It is very probable that Lopez had his information about the sufferings of his brethren through F. Richard Goldie, a native of Limerick, who died at Madrid in 1652. See *Noticias*, p. 521. O'Sullivan derived his knowledge from the same source.

² Founded by Phelim MacMahon, lord of Oirghialla, in 1462. No trace of it remains.

³ Founded by Malachy, ardrigh of Ireland, in 948, and by his vassals Gillemoholmoe and his wife Rose. Some parts of it still remain, at the rear of No. 135 Capel Street. See *The Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey*, ii. 8.

time of the founding of Mellifont.¹ It was the first house of the Order assailed when the persecution began. Here is Hartry's description of the sufferings of its inmates:—

'The manner in which this very noble monastery was suppressed was a very sad spectacle to God and men. Then, little by little, the other monasteries saw themselves ruined and desolate. For, in accordance with the statutes of the parliament under Henry VIII., king of England, and owing to the ambition and avarice of the laity, which they had imbibed together with the pestilential heresy, they panted for the monastery and its very rich possessions. Though they attempted three times, each time by the King's authority, to wrest the monastery with its appurtenances from the monks, yet these resisted vigorously, defending the rights graciously granted and confirmed to them by Supreme Pontiffs and by the Kings of Ireland and England. But the power of the King and of these greedy men prevailed, and the abbot and monks were put in chains, cast into prison by an armed crowd, in hunger, thirst, and nakedness. Then they were taken to the village of Ballyboght, belonging to the said monastery, and slain. 'At that time,' says Philip O'Sullivan, 'the religious of the monastery of Dublin were slain and rooted out by different kinds of death. It was supposed that they were no less than fifty in the year 1541.'²

See also O'Sullivan.

1565. ROGER CONGAILL³ AND CONOR MAC VARRA, O.S.F.

(From Hueber's *Menologium*, p. 2327.)

ON the 16th of December, in the primatial city of Armagh,⁴

¹ In 1142.

² *Triumphalia S. Crucis*, p. 247. This passage, however, taken from O'Sullivan's *Decas Patriciana*, fol. 162 b., seems to refer rather to the Trinitarians.

³ Anglicised O'Connell.

⁴ The Franciscan convent of Armagh was founded in 1263 by Maelpatrick O'Scannell, Archbishop of Armagh. A part of it is still standing. See Reeves' *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 32. He says it was destroyed in 1565.

Roger Congaill and Cornelius Mac Varra were seized by a certain heretic named Donald, through hatred of the Catholic faith. They were stripped of their religious habits, cruelly scourged,¹ and taken through the public streets of the city. In fine, worn out by the scourging, they died victims to God.

See also Wadding.

1569. DANIEL O'DUILLIAN, O.S.F.

(From Mooney's *Provinciae Hiberniae Descriptio*.)

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1569, though there seems to be some doubt as to the precise date, a certain brother, Daniel O'Duillian, of the convent of Youghal,² overcame the persecutors very bravely. For when one Captain Dudal and his troops were torturing him, by order of Lord Arthur Grey,³ the Viceroy, first they took him to the gate which is called Trinity Gate, and tied his hands behind his back, and having fastened heavy stones to his feet, thrice pulled him up with ropes from the ground to the top of the tower, and left him hanging there for some time. After many insults and tortures, he was hung with his head down and his feet in the air, at a mill near the monastery; and while hanging there, he never uttered an impatient word, but, like a good Christian, incessantly repeated prayers, now aloud, now in a low voice. At length the soldiers were ordered to shoot at him, as though he were a target; but yet, that his sufferings might be longer and more cruel, they should not aim at his head or heart, but as much as

¹ See Stuart's *History of Armagh*, p. 512.

² Founded by Maurice Fitzgerald, 2nd baron of Offaly, in 1232. He became a monk here later. See *Earls of Kildare*, p. 15.

³ He was Lord Deputy from 1580 to 1582. The Lord Deputy at this time was Sir Henry Sidney, who held that office three times between 1557 and 1578.

they pleased at any other part of his body. After he had received many balls, some one, with a cruel mercy, loaded his gun with two balls and shot him through the heart. F. Ward says in his *Catalogue* that he suffered death on April 22nd of this year.¹

See also Copinger and Ward.

1570. DERMOT² O'MULRONY, BROTHER THOMAS, AND ANOTHER, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 454, and Ward's
Catalogue.)

THE first was born of respectable parents in the village of Moyree, near the town of Tubber,³ in Thomond.⁴ After finishing his studies of humanity, he entered the Order of St. Francis in Limerick. Soon after he was sent by his superiors to Spain, and there made remarkable progress in learning and virtue. Burning with zeal for souls, he returned to his native country, then suffering grievous persecution at the hands of the Queen's servants. He laboured much throughout Thomond and the parts of Munster bordering on it, to gather together the flock of Christ which was scattered for want of pastors, and to feed them with the Divine Word. He was then employed in preaching in the convent of Galbally.⁵ In the year 1570, when Sir Henry Sidney, then Viceroy, was making an excursion throughout

¹ Copinger says, March 28th, 1580. *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 41.

² He is called Denis by Wadding.

³ 'In pago Mercensi prope oppidum Fontis regis Dominice,' says Bruodin. Baron says he was a native of Clonmel.

⁴ Now Co. Clare.

⁵ Eight miles S.W. of the town of Tipperary, at the western end of the beautiful valley of Aherlow. It was founded by the O'Briens, but the date is uncertain. This church is still standing, but in a very ruinous condition.

Aherlow, he and two more of the brothers suffered martyrdom in this convent. The names of the other two I could not learn. They had fled from that rural monastery to the town of Clonmel, to avoid the persecution which was then very fierce; but after some time O'Mulrony resolved to return to his monastery, God perchance so disposing it, that he might obtain the crown of martyrdom. When therefore they thought all was safe, he took up his dwelling there. But on a certain day the English soldiers suddenly came and surrounded the place, so that there was no way for the brethren to escape. The holy man went up into the belfry of the church with his two companions, that they might hide therein, and drew up the portable ladder which was there. The soldiers made a fire to burn the church and tower; then the holy man, to save the church, descended of his own accord, and letting down the ladder, as he put his foot on the first step, signed himself with the sign of the cross, and repeated the psalm, 'Miserere mei, Deus.' The soldiers, in no wise moved, loaded him with blows and wounds, and at length struck off his head. Then a wonderful thing was seen; for when his head was cut off, no drop of blood flowed from his body. When the soldiers saw this, they cut up his body in pieces, and still the blood did not flow. As regards the two others, the people of the place have had nothing more handed down to them than the fact of their death.

According to Hueber, O'Mulrony suffered death on March 21st; Bruodin gives, 1588 as the year in which he suffered. Ward says two others were put to death with him, one of whom was Brother Thomas.

See also Rothe, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, Baron, and Hueber.¹

¹ F. Bonaventura Baron, O.S.F., wrote a Latin elegiac poem on the martyrdom of O'Mulrony. *Epig.*, lib. i. lit. 2. n. 18.

1575. JOHN O'LOCHRAN, EDMUND FITZSIMON,
AND DONOGH O'ROARKE, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

IN 1570 a certain Englishman named John Britton, or Brereton, accompanied by a body of soldiers, seized Brothers John O'Lochran, Edmund Fitzsimon, and Donogh O'Roarke, priests, in the convent of Down,¹ and after putting them to the torture repeatedly, hanged them near the place commonly called St. John's Well, the spot where the angels appeared to St. Patrick.² He hanged two more in the garden of the convent from a tree, though he had received a large sum of money from the townsmen to set them free. It is said that the tree, which formerly bore fruit in abundance, soon became withered, and never after sent out a leaf. Bruodin gives January 21st, 1575, as the date of their martyrdom.

See also Wadding, Bruodin, and Hueber.

1575. FERGALL WARD, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 427.)

FERGALL WARD, a native of Tyrconnell,³ a member of the Seraphic Order of St. Francis, was a very eloquent preacher and most observant of poverty. He had laboured zealously for three years in the vineyard of the Lord, and was then promoted to be Guardian of the convent of Armagh about the year 1575. At this time the plague of heresy, intro-

¹ Founded in 1240 by Hugh de Lacy the younger. The site is now occupied by the Protestant church. Duns Scotus, styled the Subtle Doctor, is said to have been a monk of this house. See O'Laverty's *Diocese of Down and Connor*, i. 259.

² See Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 28.

³ The present Co. Donegal.

duced by Elizabeth, was raging throughout Ulster. Ward opposed it as a skilful physician. Wherefore he was seized by the Ministers of Elizabeth, and no regard being had for his great age or religious character, he was scourged cruelly and beaten. At length when the holy martyr, persevering in his good purpose, exhorted his executioners to return to a better life, by order of the ministers he was hanged with his own girdle on the 28th of April, 1575, as Father John Good¹ writes, or in 1565, as Wadding states in his work on the *Martyrs of the Order*.

See also Ward, Wadding, and Hueber.

1577. THOMAS COURSY.

(*Ibid.*, p. 430.)

THOMAS COURSY, a native of Munster, was a most zealous priest. He resided at Kinsale. He was Vicar General, and in discharge of his office he used to visit the parish priests who were under his authority, and urge them to watch anxiously over the flocks committed to their care. When thus engaged, he fell into the hands of the emissaries of that wicked tyrant, Sir John Perrott,² an Englishman, then President of Munster. By his order he was hanged, and so gained the victory for Christ on the 30th of March in the year 1577.

See also Bridgewater, Sander,³ and Copinger.

¹ He came to Ireland with F. Edmund McDonough, S.J., of whom more later. The title of this work is *Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion*; Douay, 1620. There is not a copy of it in this country, so far as I can find.

² He was President of Munster from 1571 to 1574 and Lord Deputy from 1583 to 1588. He died a prisoner in the Tower of London, having been charged with exciting the Irish people to throw off the Queen's authority. Sir William Drury was President of Munster in 1577.

³ This author gives 'Thomas Chone, Waterfordensis,' in the list of 'Archidiaconi aut vincti aut exiles.' *De Eccl. Virib.*, p. 668; most probably he was the martyr.

1578. MAURICE GIBBON,¹ ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.*(Ibid., p. 432.)*

MAURICE GIBBON, a native of Munster, and Archbishop of Cashel, a prelate endowed with every kind of virtue, was confined in prison for many years² in Cork because he refused to take the oath of Supremacy, and endured therein endless misery. He ended his life very holily there,³ on May 6th, 1578.

See also Sander, Bridgewater, Bozius, Rothe, Copinger, and Arsdeken.

1578. HUGH LACY, BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

(Ibid., p. 429.)

HUGH LACY, born of a noble family in Munster, was a man skilled in sacred and profane learning, and a priest of blameless life and character, for which reason he was chosen Bishop of Limerick⁴ while Henry VIII. was still obedient to the Church. When the King apostatized, he could not induce Hugh to join in his rebellion or to stain himself by subscribing to his supremacy. Wherefore not only did he lose the King's favour, but he was deprived first of his revenues and afterwards of his bishopric. When the King could effect nothing by these means, he had Lacy shut up in a noisome prison in Cork, the filth of which almost caused his death. When he was released from his imprisonment by the contrivance of his friends, he returned to

¹ Or Fitzgibbon. He is also called Maurice Reagh. See his *Life* in *Reuehan's Collections*, i. 241.

² In his letter to Pope Gregory XIII. he speaks of his 'creberrime vincula.' *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 70.

³ Holing, however, says he died at Oporto. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ Brady says he was appointed in 1556. *Ep. Succ.*, ii. 42.

Limerick, in order to collect and guard his flock, which had been scattered by the attacks of the English wolf. As the evil grew in strength during the last years of Henry's reign and under the sway of Seymour, the Calvinist, who governed the kingdom for Edward VI., the persecution was renewed against Hugh. Wherefore, following the example of the Apostles, he fled, and went to that Catholic country France. When Mary ascended the throne, he was called back by Cardinal Pole, and he returned to Limerick, to the great delight of all the diocese, where he tended his flock for many years in peace, like a good shepherd. When he was over sixty years of age, Elizabeth, like a wild beast, began to lay waste the vineyard of the Lord. Lacy, full of the spirit of God, was again driven from his See, deprived of all the means necessary or his support, and cast into prison, because he would not take the oath of Supremacy. Worn out by these sufferings, he died on the 26th March, 1577.¹

See also Holing, Rothe, and Copinger.

1578. PHELM O'HARA AND HENRY DELAHAYDE,² O.S.F.*(Ibid., p. 444.)*

THE first was the son of that well-known man, John O'Hara, chief of his very extensive family and owner of large possessions³ in the County of Sligo in the province of Connaught. Burning with love for the life of poverty such as Christ led, he entered the Order of the Friars

¹ The date given by Rothe, 1580, is most probably the correct one, for Holinshed says, Lacy was upon some suspicions committed prisoner to his own house in 1579. *Chron.*, vi. 429; and his successor was appointed in 1582. See Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 186.

² He is called O'Lahaye by some writers.

³ The territory of the O'Haras was Laigne, conterminous with the present diocese of Achonry.

Minors in the 21st year of his age, and wished to be considered the lowest among the laybrothers in it. During the many years that he lived in religion, he made such progress in virtue that he was reckoned among the most obedient and humble brothers and those most famed for holiness of life of the whole Province of Ireland; and with good reason, for he observed the rule of St. Francis given to him by God so exactly up to the very moment of his death, that he was never seen to transgress it in the slightest way. Adorned with various virtues and praised by all for them, he fell into the hands of the heretics then raging throughout Connaught, not far from the convent of Killala,¹ where he was begging for the necessities of life for the brothers. These tyrants, through hatred of the faith, first hanged and then quartered him. They did the like to his companion Brother Henry Delahayde, who was born of noble parents in Leinster. These two martyrs suffered for the Catholic religion May 1st, 1582.

Formerly I lived on terms of intimacy with the grand-nephew of the martyr Brother Phelim, that famous soldier John O'Hara, the eldest of his family, who was married to Mathilda O'Higgin, the daughter of noble parents, Thaddeus O'Higgin, lord of Culrehil, and Finola Bruodin, who played a very important part in the last war against the heretical Parliamentarians. I often heard this relative of mine describe at length the religious life and glorious death of this athlete of Christ, Phelim the martyr.

Mooney, in his *Descriptio*, gives some further details of O'Hara's death:—

'In the year 1578 the English heretics made an expedition to the convent of Elphin,² in the town of the same

¹ Moyne, which is two miles S.E. of Killala, Co. Mayo, on the western bank of the Moy. It was founded in 1460 by Thomas Oge De Burgo. See *Mon. Hib.*, p. 507, and Meehan's *Franc. Monasteries*, p. 55.

² Rather Moyne, as we learn from Bruodin and the other authorities quoted here.

name, and when the brethren learned their approach some of them escaped in a boat. The Provincial, who was there at the time, asked who for the merit of holy obedience would remain alone in the monastery. Phelim O'Hara, a laybrother, was chosen out of the many who offered themselves, partly because he was prudent and far advanced in years, and partly because it was hoped he would be less obnoxious than the others. Wherefore he received the blessing and remained behind. But the English coming despoiled the altar and sanctuary, and slew this brother in front of the high altar. They did not dare to remain there long, but departed the same day. The other brethren, who had fled, and who had remained out at sea waiting, on returning home, found the brother, who had become a martyr through obedience, before the high altar, where it was supposed he was praying, when, on the approach of the enemy, he gave up his soul to God. He is buried in the chapter-house.

See also Gonzaga, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Ward, Wadding, and Hueber.

1578. EDMUND TANNER, BISHOP OF CORK.

(*Ibid.*, p. 432.)

HE was a native of the city of Cork.¹ He lived for some years in the Society of Jesus, and during that time made extraordinary progress in virtue; but after some years, owing to illness, he left the Order, with the full consent of the Fathers.² He was appointed Bishop of Cork³ November 5th,

¹ In a papal document in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, iii. 147, he is said to have been a native of the (ecclesiastical) province of Dublin.

² Through great sickness and not without the licence of his superiors, and the advice of physicians, he was enforced to come forth out of the Society. Lynch, *De Prat. Hib.*, ii. 612.

³ See Brady's *Epis. Succession*, ii. 86, and *Irish Eccl. Record*, i. 316.

1574. But hardly had the burthen of the episcopate been laid on him, when he was taken to Dublin and imprisoned there for having opposed the unjust laws of the Queen. While in prison he was tortured in divers ways, and more than once he was hung up for two hours, while his hands were tied behind his back with a rope. Broken with these and various other sufferings, he went to receive the reward of his labours on the 4th of June, 1578, after an imprisonment of eighteen months.

See also Holing, Rothe, Copinger, and Lynch.

1578. DAVID HURLEY, DEAN OF EMLY.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 67.)

BECAUSE he defended the authority of the Church with great firmness, and asserted that the apostolic ceremonies should be retained and the novelties of the heretics rejected, he was frequently sought after by the emissaries of the Queen. At length he was seized and cast into prison. He died there.

See also Sander, Bridgewater, and Molanus.

1578. PATRICK O'HELY, BISHOP OF MAYO, AND CON O'ROURKE, O.S.F.

(From Bouchier's *Hist. de Martyrio FF. Ordinis S.F.*)

DR. O'HELY was a native of Connaught. From his early youth he was devoted to the practice of virtue. He entered the Order of St. Francis, and five years after his profession he was sent to Spain, by order of his superiors, that he might pursue his studies at the famous University of Alcalá

His talents were so great that he outstripped all his fellow-students. In 1575 he was called to Rome by the General of the Order, F. Christopher à Capite Fontis. While there, he resided in the Convent of Ara Coeli. He frequently petitioned the General to be allowed to return to his native country, in order to aid the Irish people then engaged in resisting the attacks of heresy. The report of his learning and virtues, and especially of his zeal for souls, reached the ears of Pope Gregory XIII., and in 1576 he was appointed to the See of Mayo,¹ then vacant by the death of Dermot O'Deira. Some days after his consecration the Pope summoned him to his presence, commended to him with great earnestness the flock confided to his care, and bestowed on him a large sum of money for the wants of his mission. On his way to Ireland he passed through Paris, and during his short stay there he gave signal proofs of his talents and learning in the theological disputations which were held in the halls of the University.

There news reached him from Ireland which would have deterred one less zealous than he from continuing his journey. But his desire to go among his flock, even at the risk of his life, grew stronger day by day. He set off from Brittany, accompanied by Cornelius O'Rourke,² the eldest son of the Prince of Brefny,³ who had abandoned the pleasures and enticements of the world in order to pass his life in humility and poverty in the Order of St. Francis. They set sail, and after a dangerous voyage landed at Dingle, Co. Kerry. They were immediately recognized by spies, who were stationed along the southern coast. The sheriff seized them, and took them before the Countess of

¹ See Bede's *Hist. Eccl. Ang.*, iv. 4, and Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, iii. 79, for an account of its foundation. Its last Bishop was Adam Magauran, appointed in 1585. It is now united to Tuam.

² The *Annals of Loch Cl* say he was the son of Brian, son of Eoghan O'Ruairc, ii. 427.

³ Now Co. Leitrim.

Desmond.¹ The Earl, who was then absent, ruled over the southern part of the kingdom almost as a sovereign.² She received the travellers with great kindness, the Geraldine family being at all times the chief patrons and protectors of the Franciscan Order. But not wishing to incur suspicion or to run any risk of losing the Queen's favour, she sent a company of soldiers with O'Hely and his companion to Limerick, and bade them to be handed over to Goulden, who held some official position there, and was at all times most zealous in carrying out the Queen's wicked purposes. He put them immediately into the common jail. A few days after they were taken to Kilmallock, twelve miles from Limerick, where Drury, the President of Munster, a fierce persecutor of the Catholics,³ then was. To display his zeal in his new office, for he had been appointed to it but a short time before, he ordered the prisoners to be chained still more securely and to be beaten with sticks. He then examined them. O'Hely replied for himself and for his companion too. 'By God's grace we are both priests and religious of the Order of St. Francis. Moreover, I am the Bishop of Mayo, having been appointed to that office and consecrated by the Supreme Head of the Church on earth, Gregory XIII., and I have been sent by him to Ireland to visit, and gather together, and feed with the word of Life the Catholic people confided to my care, and now scattered by the fury of the heretics. This is my calling and the cause of my return to my native country.' 'Do you dare,' asked Drury, 'to assert, like a rebel, that the Pope is the Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland, notwithstanding

¹ Daughter of Edmund, Lord Dunboyne. After the death of the Earl of Desmond, she married O'Connor Sligo. There is a mural monument erected to her and O'Connor Sligo in the Dominican priory of Sligo.

² Earl Gerald.

³ He was appointed President of Munster in 1576, and held that office for three years. In the second year of his office he hanged 400 persons 'by justice and martial law.' Webb's *Irish Biography*.

the lawful decrees made by the Queen and parliament to the contrary?' 'If these laws were just,' replied the Bishop, 'they would not contradict what I say; and to prove the truth of my assertion, I am ready to suffer any torments you please and to lay down my life, if necessary.' His companion answered in the same strain. Promises of wealth and honours were held out to them to induce them to change their resolution. They were threatened with torture and death, but to no avail. Drury, enraged at their answers, condemned them by martial law, without any legal formality, to be first put to the torture, and then to be hanged from a tree that was near.

His orders were executed faithfully. The two athletes of Christ were stripped; they were beaten with rods; they were then placed on the rack; sharp points and needles were thrust between the nails and the flesh, their fingers were cut off, their arms and feet beaten with hammers, and their thigh-bones broken. In the midst of these cruel tortures they exhorted each other to be patient and firm, they urged the Catholics who were present to perseverance, and they preached repentance to the heretics.

Drury, who was at heart a Catholic, moved by their exhortations, yet feeling no real compunction for his crimes, thought of a plan by which he would save them from death. He sent one of his attendants, who knew the Irish language, to the Bishop, and asked him whether he would conform, at least outwardly, and obey the laws of the Queen. The Bishop sent him back word by the same messenger that he had now reached the time when he could not dissemble in matters of faith, and that he would be willing to endure a thousand deaths rather than deny publicly or privately what had been defined as true by the Church or subscribe to what was condemned. Drury again offered them rich benefices and positions of honour. As they paid no heed to his offer, he ordered the sentence to be carried out. They

were taken from the rack and hanged with the girdles which they wore as a part of their religious habit, on the 22nd of August, 1578.¹

When the Bishop reached the top of the ladder, just before he was taken hold of by the executioner and thrown off, he called out to Drury, and warned him that within a very few days he should appear before the judgment-seat of God. Three days after he was seized by a disease which baffled all the skill of the physicians. When the malady was at its height he admitted that he had done wrong, and he declared openly that he was punished by God for the unjust sentence which he had pronounced against the Bishop.

The bodies of the martyrs were kept hanging in chains. They were lowered so that their feet almost touched the ground, in order that they might be devoured by the wolves and wild dogs which abounded in the neighbourhood. Yet, to the wonder of everyone, they were not touched by these or by the birds of the air. Every day, however, they were made targets of by the heretical soldiers, one crying out, 'I will hit the Pope's Bishop in the head,' and another, 'I will strike his hand.' During the whole fourteen days they were hanging in this way, it was remarked that the expression of their features remained unchanged; it was calm and joyful as during life. Moreover, a fragrant odour issued from them. The people of the neighbourhood came in great numbers to the place, and took away with them pieces of their clothing. The Earl of Desmond ordered the bodies to be removed and buried with great honour at Clonmel, in order to atone in some measure for what the Countess, his wife, had done. Seventy years after, they were transferred,

¹ O'Rourke was visited in prison the night before his execution by the famous F. James Archer, S.J., who afterwards described him 'as being comely of feature, kindly in his address, young in years; he had hardly reached his thirtieth year.' See *Triumphalia S. Crucis*, p. 257.

and deposited, together with the instruments of their torture, in the monastery of their Order at Askeaton.¹

In F. Holing's manuscript, *Magna Supplicia*, the following passage occurs in reference to Drury:—

'Anno 1577. William Drury, an Englishman, Viceroy of Ireland, was summoned by the Most Rev. Patrick Hely, of the Order of St. Francis, bishop (whom with his brother in religion he had condemned to death solely on account of his faith), before the judgment-seat of God to give an account of his deed. He was seized with a very violent disease, and died soon after mad and uttering blasphemies. On the day he was buried, there was such darkness, thunder, and lightning as Ireland never saw before or since.'²

In the book bearing the title *Thetarum Crudelitatum Haereticorum*, published at Antwerp in 1592, there is a print representing O'Hely and his companion hanging from a cross-beam.³

There is some uncertainty as to the precise year of his death. Some will have it to be 1577, others 1578, others in fine 1579. The date given above is that most commonly accepted.

See also the *Annals of Loch Cé*, Gonzaga, Harpsfield, Sander, Bozius, Verstegan, Bridgewater, Fitzsimon, Rothe, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, O'Daly, Bruodin, Lych, Porter, and Hueber.

1578. THOMAS MOERAN, DEAN OF CORK.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 66.)

HE underwent great toil and hardships while the per-

¹ Founded in 1420 by James, 7th Earl of Desmond. See Meehan's *Franc. Mon.*, p. 96.

² *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 25.

³ See the print facing the title-page. The two hanging from the same beam are O'Hely and O'Rourke.

secution was raging, in order to encourage the citizens of that very famous city. When engaged in the performance of the sacred functions, he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and so ended his life gloriously in the year 1578. He is buried in a marble tomb outside the choir of St. Peter's church, Cork.

See also Sander and Rothe.

1578. SIMON LUTTRELL, ARCHDEACON OF MEATH.

(*Ibid.*, p. 68.)

WHILE striving to protect the flock entrusted to his care from heresy, he was captured, and ended his life in prison.

See also Sander and Rothe.

1579. TADHG O'DALY, O.S.F.

(From Holing's *Compendium*¹ and Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 437.)

BROTHER TADHG O'DALY, a native of Kinvarra, and a monk of the Order of St. Francis, was seized by the heretics in the monastery of Askeaton, because he wore the habit of his Order and made open profession of the Catholic faith. He was led, as if he were a robber or a traitor, to Limerick, sixteen miles off. There he was stripped of his habit and cast into prison by order of the President of the province.² After nine weeks, during which time he gave proofs of his attachment to the faith and of his constancy, he was brought to trial, many crimes being laid to his charge. But persevering in the confession of the Catholic faith, he

¹ In *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 92.

² Drury, of whom mention has been made already at p. 102.

was condemned to death by the verdict of twelve men, heretics and schismatics, because he would not admit that the Queen was Head of the Church. To all the promises and threats held out to him by the heretics, he replied with a smile, that no one on account of bodily torments or even death itself should separate himself from the friendship of God. 'I care not,' he used to say, 'how you treat this mortal body of mine; the Almighty God has given you no power to injure my soul.' Again he was thrown into prison. There he was often visited by pious Catholics and by a certain holy priest, who obtained access to him in the dress of a layman; from him he obtained absolution of all his sins and received the Blessed Eucharist.

The heretics took him out of the prison, and binding his hands behind his back, had him tied to a horse's tail and dragged through the streets. But he showing not sorrow but delight, repeated aloud with great devotion the hymn: 'Te Deum laudamus.' On the way to the place of execution, he besought his friends who accompanied him, to obtain from the heretics that he should be allowed to wear his religious habit at the time of his death. These laughed at the request; but they granted it after a way, and ordered that the habit should be hung up too on the beam by the side of his body. After he had hung for a short time, he was taken down half-alive. Many of those who were standing by expressly stated that the martyr's head when cut off uttered these words distinctly: 'Lord, show me thy ways.' The fact is attested by F. John Good, S.J., who was then in Limerick, in his *Theatre of Protestant and Catholic Religion*. And so this brave soldier of Christ earned the palm of martyrdom on January 1st, 1579.

O'Sullivan says another Franciscan, whose name, however, he does not mention, was put to death with him.¹

¹ *Decas Patr.*, fol. 165 b.

See also Gonzaga, Holing, Rothe, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, O'Daly, and Hueber.

1579. JOHN O'DOWD, O.S.F.

(From Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, xxi. 208.)

IN our convent of Elphin,¹ some English soldiers seized a certain priest of our Order and some other persons. They pressed a layman, who was one of their captives, to tell something of the plots which they said he had entered into with others against the Queen of England; but he protested he could tell nothing but the truth, and that there were no such plots. So they determined to hang him. He begged that he might first be allowed to make his confession to the priest. This they granted readily, because they thought that if the priest was put to the torture, he would reveal what was told him. As soon as the confession was ended the layman was hanged, and then they asked the priest, who was also to be hanged, if he had learned anything of the business in the confession. He answered in the negative, and refused to make known anything which he might have heard in the sacred tribunal. They offered him life and freedom if he would reveal what he had heard, and threatened him with torture if he refused. He answered that he could not.

Immediately they knotted a cord round his head, and putting a piece of wood through it, slowly twisted it so tight that at length, after he had endured this torment for a long time, his skull was broken in and his brain crushed. All this time he was praying to God and to the Blessed Virgin Mary. He died on the spot. I have seen and

¹ Founded by Cornelius, Bishop of Elphin, in 1450. Ward says O'Dowd was put to death at Moyne.

examined ocular witnesses of this fact, who were then serving in that body of English soldiers. But they did not remember the name of the friar or the exact year. It was about 1577. Ward gives 1579 as the date of his death.

1580. EDMUND M'DONNELL, S.J.

(From Tanner's *Societas Jesu, &c.*, p. 7, and Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 428.)

WHEN Elizabeth was striving, not merely by threats but by the infliction of the severest punishments and tortures on the faithful, and especially on priests and religious, to root out the Catholic faith, Christ's Vicar on earth, Pope Gregory XIII., thought fit to send some members of the Society of Jesus into England and Ireland to succour the faithful who were then sorely tried. The first of the Society who exposed their lives to the daily danger of death were FF. Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion,¹ who set out from Rome in June, 1580. The Holy Pontiff, consulting for the welfare of Ireland, which was then harassed in the same way owing to the wickedness of that Queen, sent thither missionaries of the same Society.

F. Edmund M'Donnell, called by some M'Donough, met with a glorious death very soon after he reached there, and was the first of them to proclaim the truth of the Catholic religion by the shedding of his blood. He was a native of Limerick, and by order of the Pope had returned to his native country to comfort the Catholics, who were then sorely persecuted, with FF. Thomas Good,² an Englishman,

¹ See his life in Challoner's *Memoirs*, i. 30.

² His christian name was William. He came to this country in 1564, and passed five years here. He was a man of great virtue, and held in the highest esteem by Cardinal Allen. He died at Naples in 1586. See *Records of the English Province S.J.*, iv. 477.

and David Wolfe,¹ later Apostolic Legate. He was employed for a while in teaching youth the Christian doctrine and profane literature.

Very soon after he was seized by order of that blood-thirsty man, Sir John Perrott, President of Munster, and confined in a close prison in Limerick for a long time. His constancy was assailed in many ways. The ministers made him all kinds of promises if he would join in the treachery of the Reformers, and when the confessor of God continued unmoved, he was taken to Cork, a distance of forty miles, to be questioned still further by the cruel heretics. During the whole of that journey his hands were tied behind his back, and he suffered from his cruel guards all the hardships that are usually inflicted on murderers and traitors. He was thrust into the common prison, and endured various tortures at different times; his firmness remained unbroken. He was accused of high treason and condemned in open court. The reasons publicly alleged by the blood-thirsty magistrate for inflicting this infamous punishment on the accused, were such as prove that he well deserves the proud title of martyr, viz., that he stubbornly continued to profess the Catholic faith, which was proscribed by Elizabeth in England under the penalty of high treason, that he had come to gain over to and confirm in the same his fellow-citizens both by word and deed, that he impiously refused to the Queen the title of Head of the Church in England, and that he had brought letters from Pope Gregory XIII. to James Fitzmaurice,² who was then at the head of the

¹ He was a native of Limerick. Pope Pius IV. appointed him Commissary-General for the whole of Ireland. He was a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin for at least four years. See a notice of his life in Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 77, and in Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen*, p. 1.

² Gregory XIII., in his letter of May 13th, 1580, to the Archbishops, chiefs, and people of Ireland, makes mention of letters written by him to them in the preceding years, exhorting them 'to recover their liberty and to defend it against the heretics, and to aid James Geraldine, who was desirous of delivering them from the hard yoke of slavery imposed on them by the English, who had abandoned the holy Roman Church.' See O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 121.

Irish Catholics in arms against the heretics in defence of the Catholic faith. He listened with signs of great pleasure and joy to this glorious sentence decreeing him a triumph, and humbly bowing to the judges, he thanked them.

He was then led away, as one guilty of high treason, to the usual place of execution. Here he was hanged, and after a short time, while he was still alive, the rope was cut and he fell to the ground. The executioner cut open his body, and tearing out his heart, showed it to the people. Then he cast it into the fire. The rest of the body was quartered and set on stakes at different places until it fell to pieces, in order that the sight might inspire those who beheld it with fidelity to the Queen and wiser thoughts. This famous man suffered death at Cork in the year 1580. Bruodin gives March 16th, 1575, as the date of his death.

See also Holing, Fitzsimon, Rothe, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Alegambe, and Jouveney.

1580. DANIEL O'NEILAN, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 439.)

DANIEL O'NEILAN, born in Thomond of a noble family, consecrated himself to God by vows in the Order of St. Francis in the year 1560, and he lived in it for twenty years, both in Ireland and Spain. During this time he made great progress both in virtue and in learning, so that he was the model of a good religious to all. Urged by zeal for the salvation of souls, he returned to his native country which was then ravaged by the fury of the heretics.

Immediately on landing at the port of Youghal, he was seized by William Morgan, the Governor of the town, and closely questioned. Daniel openly and fearlessly declared

that he was a priest and a member of the Seraphic Order. When the cruel tyrant heard this, without any process of law, he directed that Father Daniel's hands should be tied behind his back, and then ordered him to be scourged, and salt and vinegar to be put into the wounds made on the skin by the lash. At last the tyrants seeing Neilan's courage, for he prayed without ceasing for himself and his persecutors, and despairing of changing his purpose, since he refused the honours offered to him if he would join with the heretics, ordered this brave champion of Christ to be hanged from the vane of a wind-mill with his head down, like Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and to be shot at till his whole body was pierced through with balls. By such a martyrdom Daniel earned for himself a glorious crown in heaven. He suffered at Youghal, in Munster, March 28th, 1580.

See also Holing, Fitzsimon, Rothe, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, and Hueber.

1580. DANIEL HINRECHAN, PHILIP O'SEE,¹
AND MAURICE O'SCANLAN, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 440.)

THESE religious were natives of Kerry, and born of respectable Catholic parents. They were priests, and for more than thirty years had preached the word of God throughout different parts of Ireland, not without great profit to souls. When the rest of the brethren fled from the heretics how were coming to seize them, these could not accompany them, owing to old age and loss of sight;

¹ Perhaps O'Shea; Copinger calls him O'Lee.

the youngest of them was over seventy years of age. They took refuge in the church of their monastery in the town of Lislachtin.¹ They were seized and dragged before the high altar, and there beaten with sticks, and run through with the sword. The date of their death is 6th April, 1580. Rothe gives it as 1582.

See also Holing, Rothe, Fitzsimon, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, and Hueber.

1580. LAURENCE O'MOORE, OLIVER
PLUNKETT, AND WILLIAM WALSH.

(*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

LAURENCE O'MOORE was descended from a very ancient and respectable family in Ireland. He was a priest remarkable for holiness of life, as Sander testifies.² When the Spanish General San José surrendered the castle of Smerwick,³ in the western part of Co. Kerry, to Lord Grey, who was then Deputy, the conditions were that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms, ammunition, and other property. But the treacherous heretics did not think themselves bound either by their oath or by the laws that are held sacred even by barbarous nations. The Spaniards, nine hundred in number, were made to give up their arms, and all but ten and the cowardly commander either cast into the sea or slain in cold blood.

O'Moore and two Irishmen of noble birth, Oliver Plunkett and William Walsh, were taken there also. These the

¹ Founded in 1470 by O'Connor Kerry. See *Annals F.M.*, iv. 1071. Lislachtin is near the village of Ballylongford. Husher says they were put to death at Ardfer.

² See *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 83.

³ See Hennessey's *Raleigh in Ireland*, p. 10. The castle was called Dunanoir.

Deputy required to be handed over to him. He strove to induce them to abjure the Catholic faith and to embrace Protestantism; and when they refused, and said that with God's grace they would continue even till death to profess the Catholic faith, he sent them to a blacksmith's forge and had their limbs broken to pieces with a hammer. This butchery lasted for twenty-four hours. During all that time these noblemen displayed extraordinary courage, having been strengthened with the sacraments, which they had received from Father Laurence. All three expired almost at the same moment, their last words being: 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.' They were put to death August 5th, 1580.

The *State Papers* confirm fully the above narrative:

'This day was executed an Englishman who served Dr. Saunders, one Plunkett, and an Irish priest. Their arms and legges were broken, and hanged upon a gallows upon the wall of the fort.'¹

Sander was the Papal Legate, who died soon after in the woods at Aherlow, 'raving in a phrenesy.'² Plunkett, the writer says, was born near Drogheda.

See also Holing, Rothe, O'Sullivan, Copinger, Henriquez, Molanus, Hartry, and Porter.

1580. GELASIUS O'CULLENAN, O.CIST., HUGH MULKEERAN, O.PREM., AND EUGENE CRONE.

(From Hartry's *Triumphalia*, p. 253.)

GELASIUS O'CULLENAN³ was born of a family in Con-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211. Letter of Sir R. Bingham to Walsingham.

² See the Introduction to Sander's *Anglican Schism*, p. 20.

³ He is called O'Boyle by Bruodin and others. The mistake arose, no doubt, from his having been Abbot of the monastery near Boyle.

naught remarkable for its piety. He was the oldest of six brothers, of whom five devoted themselves to the service of Christ in the ranks of the clergy secular or regular. He went to Louvain to study there, and later to Rome. Having completed his studies, he returned to Ireland. Soon after he entered the Cistercian Order. His great virtue pointed him out to the Holy See and to his own brethren as a fit person to be appointed Abbot of the monastery of Boyle. At this time one of the neighbouring gentry had taken possession of the monastery and its lands, and was supported in his usurpation by the edict of Elizabeth. The Abbot, in no way deterred by the penal enactment, went boldly to the usurper, and admonished him of the guilt he was incurring and of the curse he would certainly bring down on his whole family in consequence. Touched by his exhortations, the nobleman gave him up the monastery and its lands; and sometime after, witnessing the holy life of its inmates and the happy fruits of their zeal, and desirous to have a part in their good works, he too renounced the world and embraced the religious institute.

In 1580, being in Dublin, Gelasius was arrested by order of the Government, and together with Hugh Mulkeeran, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity,¹ imprisoned in the public gaol. John O'Garwin,² then Protestant Dean of Christ Church, was among those who assisted at his first interrogatory. Many inducements were held out to him to abandon the Catholic faith; a choice of the bishoprics of Connaught then vacant was given to him, if he would renounce the Catholic creed and the authority of the Supreme Pontiff. His answer to the

¹ In one of the islands of Lough Cé, near Boyle. It was founded by Clarus M'Mailin, Archdeacon of Elphin, in 1213 for Premonstratensians. See *Mon. Hib.*, p. 615.

² John Garvey, who became Protestant Archbishop of Armagh in 1584.

heretics was: 'The benefices you offer me are very valuable in truth; but how long will you allow me to enjoy them?' 'As long as you live,' they answered. 'And what length of life will you give me,' he asked. 'We can not determine the end of your life or prolong it, nor do we know the day of your death.' 'Well then,' he replied, 'is it not much wiser for me to obey Him and to keep his law who can, if he pleases, prolong my life, and give me a life of eternal happiness in the world to come, than to obey you who cannot lengthen my life by one instant, and are striving by your deceitful and perishable gifts to lead me away from the laws of heaven?'¹ The English were angered by this answer and ordered his fingers, arms, and legs to be crushed with blows of a hammer. And when they could not break down his courage, they ordered him and Hugh Mulkeeran to be hanged.

The Abbot asked the executioners that Hugh should suffer death first, as he showed some fear and wept. He was hanged first. The Abbot was then put to death, and suffered not only without fear but courageously. While he was on his way to the scaffold, five hundred heretics were converted to the Catholic faith by the sight of his constancy. He had been sentenced to be hanged and quartered; but at the request of his friends, his body was not cut in pieces. However it was set on the top of the Castle, a sad spectacle to the Catholics. The English used it as a mark to fire at. Many Catholics who were present at the execution took away his clothes as relics. They suffered November 21st, 1584. Henriquez² styles O'Cullenan, 'Ordinis Cisterciensis decor, sæculi nostri splendor, totius Hiberniæ gloria,' the ornament of the Cistercian Order, the light of our century, the glory of all Ireland.

¹ Just such a colloquy is said to have taken place between Sir Thomas More and his wife. See his *Life*, by Roper, p. 89.

² The learned Historiographer of the Order, in his *Menologium Cisterciense*, p. 389.

Rothe says Eugene Cronius, a secular priest, who was in the company of O'Cullenan, a native of the same province, was martyred with him.

See also Rothe, Copinger, O'Sullivan, *Annus Cisterciensis*, Molanus, Henriquez, Hartry, Porter, and Bruodin.

1580. TADHG DONALD AND JOHN HANLY, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

F. TADHG DONALD, of the convent of Bantry,¹ a famous preacher, and his companion,² were seized by English soldiers near the same monastery. They were tied together with their girdles, and thrown into the sea from a high rock. Bruodin says they were put to death on the 10th of August.

1581. RICHARD FRINCH.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 443.)

HE was a native of Wexford, and a pious and prudent priest. He was imprisoned in Dublin, and for three years in succession he had to endure the filth and other miseries of the place, with robbers for his constant companions, because he defended the Catholic faith strenuously. At last he was sentenced to die, and was sent to Wexford to be executed in the usual way. But he died in the prison before he was taken out to be executed in public, May 5th, 1581.

See also Holing, Rothe, Copinger, Molanus, and Lynch.

¹ Founded by Dermot O'Sullivan, about 1460, on the water's edge, a mile west of the town. Nothing remains of it now.

² Bruodin says his name was John Hanly.

1581. NICHOLAS NUGENT,¹ DAVID SUTTON, JOHN SUTTON, THOMAS EUSTACE, JOHN EUSTACE, WILLIAM WOGAN, ROBERT SHERLOCK, JOHN CLINCH, THOMAS NETHERFIELD, AND ROBERT FITZGERALD.

(*Ibid.*, p. 442.)

AMONG the chiefs who took up arms in defence of the Catholic faith professed by their ancestors against the unjust persecutions of Queen Elizabeth about the year 1580, we must reckon these illustrious champions, Viscount Baltinglass² and John, Baron of Dunkellin. The English executioners, whose thirst for the innocent blood of Catholics was insatiable, put to death in several ways many noble Catholics through hatred of the faith, under one false pretext or another, and especially because they were suspected of sharing in the sentiments of the aforesaid nobles. Among the many noble knights who were put to death in Dublin in the year 1581, for their constancy in the Catholic faith rather than for the above reason invented by the heretics, were Nicholas Nugent, David Sutton, and his brother John Sutton,³ Thomas Eustace and his son John,⁴ William Wogan, lord of Rathcoffy; Robert Sherlock, John Clinch, lord of Scrine; Thomas Netherfield,⁵ and Robert Fitzgerald. All these most famous men, no regard being had to their high birth or the respectability of their families, were hanged and then quartered in Dublin on the 26th of May, 1581.

¹ He was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

² An Act of parliament was passed in 1585, 27 Eliz. c. i., attainting him and his four brothers. He died in Portugal.

³ Of Castletown, Co. Kildare. *Archdall*, vi. 178.

⁴ Copinger says: 'Mr. Thomas Eustace, with his son and heir, said the litanies going up the ladder.' *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 42.

⁵ Or Netterville.

'Nugent,' says Camden, 'a man of singular good life and reputation, was merely circumvented (as the Irish report) by the cunning of his adversaries. He, relying upon the conscience of his own innocence, when the Lord Deputy faithfully promised him his life if he would confess himself guilty, chose rather, being guiltless, to undergo an infamous death, than by betraying his own innocence to lead an infamous life.'¹

It is to these, no doubt, the *Annals of Loch Cé* refer,² under the date 1581. 'Eighteen heirs of the nobles of the foreigners of Meath were put to death in Dublin by the Justiciary of Erin this year.'

See also Holing, Rothe, Copinger, Molanus, and Lynch.

1581. MATTHEW LAMPORT, P.P.

(*Ibid.*)

HE was a priest, and had charge of a parish in the neighbourhood of Dublin. The heretics took him prisoner, and sent him to the city. He was put to death rather from hatred to the Catholic religion, which he upheld with great zeal, than for the reason alleged against him, namely, that he had frequently given hospitality to the priest F. Rochford.³ He was hanged and quartered, and in this way died gloriously July 1st, 1581.

Rothe gives in the list of laymen who suffered for the faith, Matthew Lamport, 'a man of very tender conscience, who was hanged and quartered because he had received into his house James Eustace, Baron of Baltinglass, who was brought almost to death by hunger.'

See also Holing, Rothe, Copinger, and Molanus.

¹ *Annals*, p. 311.

² ii. 447.

³ For an account of F. Rochford, see Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen*, p. 17. He died at Lisbon in 1588.

1581. ROBERT MILLER,¹ EDWARD CHEEVERS,
JOHN O'LAHY, AND PATRICK CANAVAN.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 391.)

THESE were citizens of Wexford and pious Catholics. With the aid of some other Catholic sailors, they had secretly carried over to France a certain Father of the Society of Jesus, and some of the priests and laymen who were driven from their native country on account of their faith. They were seized, put to the torture, and hanged; and when they were only half-dead, they were taken down and quartered, July 5th, 1581.

Bruodin² says they were executed for bringing Father Rochford, S.J., from Belgium, and entertaining priests in their houses. He gives July 15th of that year as the date of their martyrdom. Instead of Patrick Canavan, given by Rothe, he sets down John O'Lahey as having been martyred with the two first mentioned.

See also Holing, Molanus, and Bruodin.

1581. NICHOLAS FITZGERALD, O.CIST.

(From Hartry's *Synopsis*, p. 251.)

F. NICHOLAS FITZGERALD, to escape from the cruel persecution, fled to a wood, and lay concealed there. He was seized in his monastic habit, taken in chains to the city of Dublin, and condemned by the Viceroy, who was never sated with the blood of Catholics, to be hanged, and while half-alive to be quartered. He endured that manner of death courageously for the Catholic faith, wearing his religious habit. The faithful, influenced by pious devotion,

¹ He is called Meiler by Rothe.

² *Propug.*, p. 443.

preserved the clothes and blood of the courageous martyr, dividing them into small portions as relics, in the year of Christ's birth 1581, in the month of September. His father, Maurice Fitzgerald, and his mother, Margaret FitzRedmond, obtained, as a very great favour, that the four quarters of their beloved son, when cut asunder, should be given to them for burial in the tomb of his ancestors in the church of the Nuns of the Order of St. Brigid, in Kildare. Our glorious martyr was descended from the noble race of the Geraldines.¹

There is a tombstone close by the vestry door of the cathedral of Kildare which bears the names of the parents of Nicholas Fitzgerald.² If the original position of this stone was ascertained, it would determine the place where the martyr was buried.

1581. MAURICE EUSTACE.

(From Holing's *Compendium*.³)

MAURICE EUSTACE, born of an illustrious family, a student of theology and a Master of Arts, became a novice of the Society of Jesus at Bruges in Flanders. When his father,⁴ a rich and powerful man, learned this, he was much displeased and wrote to the Superiors of the Order, asking them to send his son to him, as he was his heir and the only son of his first marriage. They sent him home, hoping, perhaps, he might be permitted to return later. His father

¹ Thomas, 2nd son of Thomas, 7th Earl of Kildare, settled at Lackagh, midway between Kildare and Monasterevan.

² The inscription is given in Comerford's *Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, ii. 29.

³ See *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 95.

⁴ Copinger says he was Sir John Eustace, of Castlemartin, Co. Kildare. *Ibid.*, iii. 42.

was delighted to see him, and offered him money, a rich and handsome wife too, in order to turn him from his purpose. But Maurice begged earnestly to be allowed to devote himself to God's service in the Society of Jesus; and reminded his father that he had other children of a second marriage, one of whom he might make his heir. But he would not consent. Maurice remained for some days at home, waiting for an opportunity of returning to Flanders. He went to Bruges and was received in a kindly way by the Fathers. But these learning the father's wish, and fearing lest some evil consequences might ensue if he was retained, thinking too that the young man might be more useful to the Church in the world than in the religious state, sent him away, much against his will. On his return to Ireland, he was appointed a captain of horse. He brought back to the Catholic faith some of those who served under him; others he confirmed in it by his advice and exhortations, especially by his example in frequenting the sacraments every eight or fifteen days.

After some months, he fell in with a Catholic Bishop, and received Orders from him, without his father's knowledge. A servant who had been appointed to attend on him, told what had taken place. The father, indignant at his son's conduct, sent soldiers to seize him, as he could do being a judge, and ordered him to be imprisoned in Dublin. He died soon after. The younger brother, eager to get his father's property into his hands, denounced Maurice as a Jesuit and a priest, an enemy to the Queen, and a friend of those who were at war with her. Maurice denied that he was a Jesuit or a priest, but openly confessed that he was a Catholic; he showed that he had no opportunity of communicating with anyone but the jailer. He often disputed with the heretical Bishops and ministers, and always confounded them, for he surpassed them far in learning. The

Chancellor¹ offered to set him free and to give him his daughter in marriage with an ample dowry, if he would change his faith. He refused to do so, and was sent back to prison.

On the appointed day he was brought to trial before a jury of twelve heretics, as is the custom in Ireland and in England, and found guilty of high treason. He was drawn at a horse's tail to the place of execution. The Chancellor again repeated his offer, and again Maurice rejected it. 'For Jesus Christ's sake,' he exclaimed, 'I have come here, ready to suffer ignominy and pain, and to shed my blood. Great is my joy. I will not abandon Christ for a heretical wife, for an uncertain life, and for my liberty; and as He died for me on the cross, I desire and hope to die for Him on the scaffold.' Finally this brave soldier of Christ, asking God's help and the prayers of the Catholics, was hanged and quartered, and so earned the martyr's crown in the month of November, 1581.²

See also Rothe, Copinger, Molanus, and Bruodin.

1581. PATRICK HAYES.³

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 391.)

HE was a merchant and shipowner of Wexford. He was imprisoned for a long time because he had given aid to Catholics in their distress, both bishops, priests and laymen. Worn out at last by his long confinement and sufferings, he slept in the Lord in Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1581.

See also Holing, Copinger, and Molanus.

¹ Adam Loftus, then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.

² Bruodin gives 1588 as the date of his death.

³ Copinger gives the name as Hea. He is most probably the same who is mentioned by Bruodin under the date 1600. The facts connected with both are identical. See *Propugnaculum*, p. 467.

1581 (?). DANIEL O'HANAN.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 90.)

HE was a native of Ulster. When the persecution was raging throughout that province so tenacious of the ancient religion, he refused to take part in the religious services of the innovators, and upheld the Catholic faith by professing it openly. For so doing he was cast into prison and treated very harshly. He was tempted to abandon the faith, but to no purpose. Victorious over his enemies, he died in prison.

Molanus does not give the date of his death in his list, the name is placed between those of Patrick Hayes, who suffered death in 1581, and John Dowdall, who was executed in 1600.

See also Rothe.

1582. JOHN WALLIS.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 445.)

HE was a priest, a native of Leinster, noble by birth but still more noble by reason of his reverence for the things of heaven. He was seized by the heretics, and bore with wonderful patience the various kinds of torture inflicted on him. At length he was sent to England, and imprisoned in the gaol at Worcester. There he died of hunger and other hardships, and triumphed gloriously for Christ, January 20th, 1582.

See also Rothe and Molanus. The latter gives 1600 as the date of his death. Challoner makes no mention of him.

1582. ENEAS PENNY.

(Ibid.)

THIS priest was a native of Connaught. He was slain by

the heretical English soldiers in his parish church of Killatra¹ while celebrating the sacrifice of the Mass, May 4th, 1582.

See also Copinger.

1582. DONOUGH O'REDDY, P.P.

(Ibid.)

HE was a native of Connaught and parish priest of Coolrahen.² When the soldiers of Elizabeth rushed into the village he took refuge in the church; but to no purpose, for these persecutors of priests and profaners of churches, the English heretics, hanged him in the church opposite the high altar, and afterwards pierced him through with their swords, and so he ended his life in a very holy way, June 12th, 1582.

See also Copinger, Molanus, O'Sullivan, Ward, and Porter.

1582. ROGER DONNELLAN, CHARLES GORAN, PETER O'CHILLIAN, PATRICK O'KENNA, JAMES PILLAN, AND ROGER O'HANLON, O.S.F.

(Ibid.)

THESE, the five first of whom were priests and the last a laybrother, belonged to the Order of St. Francis. They were pious and most zealous men, who in spite of every kind of danger used to travel through Connaught and Leinster without ceasing, in order to guide the people on the paths of justice and truth by preaching to them often

¹ This name is not given in the list of townlands of the Ordnance Survey. Copinger calls it Killagh.

² Copinger gives the name Coleraine.

and earnestly the word of God. Wherefore they were seized by the heretics and thrust into the prison in the Castle of Dublin, where, worn out by the tortures by which their constancy was put to the test, and by the filth and squalor of the place, they died in the year 1582.

See also Copinger, Wadding, and Hueber.

1582. TEIGUE O'MORACHUE,¹ O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

TEIGUE O'MORACHUE, the guardian of the convent of Enniscorthy,² with the vicar and the sacristan, were seized during the government of Henry Wallop,³ Viceroy of Ireland, by the soldiers in the monastery, tortured in various ways for five days there, and slain in the year 1582.

1584. DERMOT O'HURLEY, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

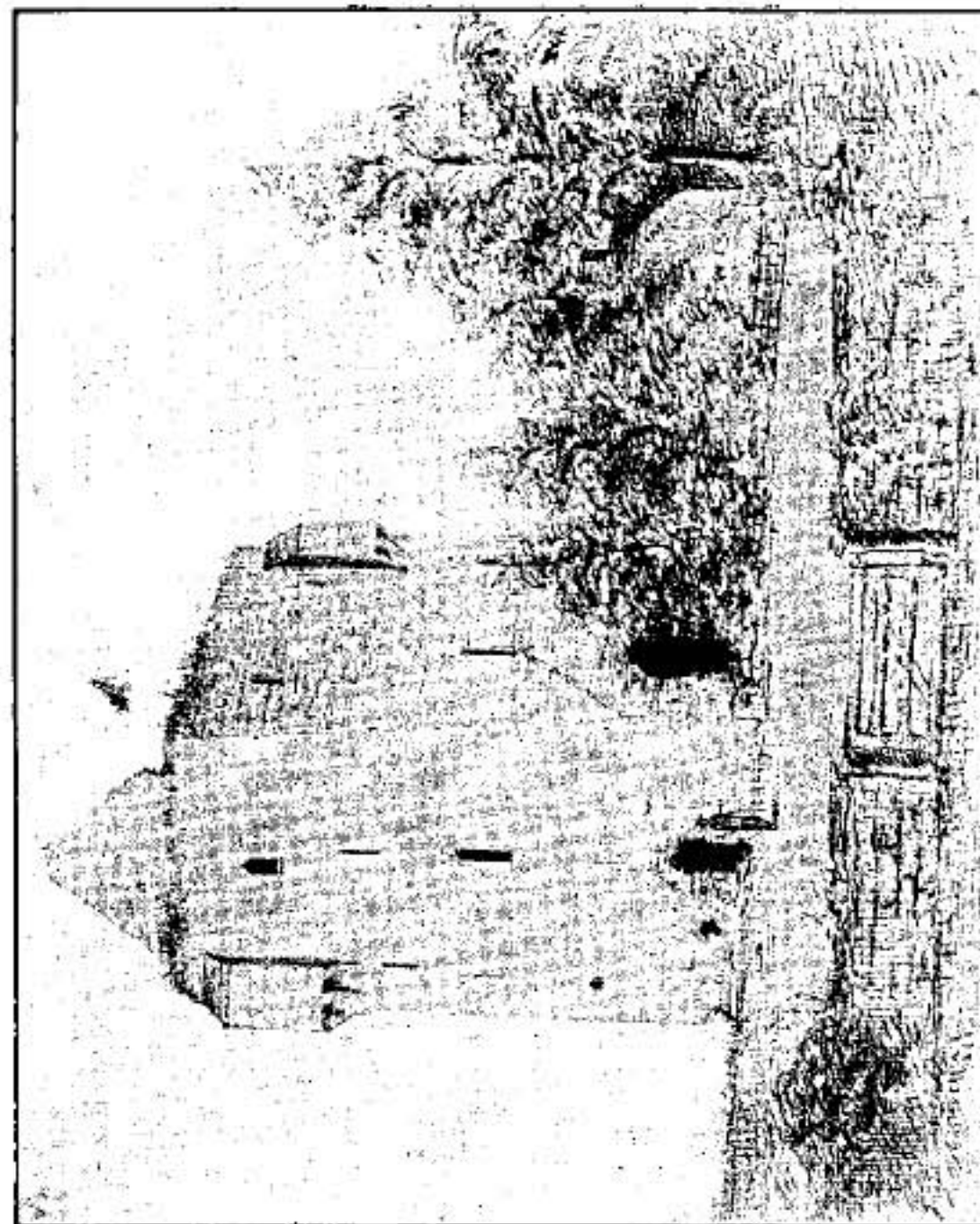
(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 423.)

THE birth-place of this famous martyr was the small village of Lycadoon, in the diocese of Limerick, three miles from the city. There his parents obtained a respectable living by tilling land and rearing cattle, and were well known and much esteemed among their neighbours both in town and country whether rich or poor; and even by the chief men of that province, and more especially by James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond. His father's name was William Hurley;

¹ Anglicised Murphy.

² Founded in 1460 by Donald Kavanagh. The site is now occupied by the National Bank.

³ He was Treasurer-at-War, and Lord Justice with Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, from 1582 to 1584. He is buried in St. Patrick's, Dublin. His descendant, the Earl of Portsmouth, still holds the lands of the monastery that were confiscated.



LYCADOON, the birth-place of the Most Reverend DERMOT O'HURLEY, Archbishop of Cashel

he was owner of the estate of Lycadoon, and he also filled the office of steward or manager of the said Earl's lands. This nobleman's fame and power extended over the whole of the province and even throughout the entire kingdom of Ireland, though now fortune has changed and all that power has fallen away. His mother was Honor O'Brien, descended from that illustrious and most famous family of the O'Briens, Earls of Thomond, who were Kings of Munster long before Ireland was invaded.

But when treating of this subject, and writing of this man, there is no need of any mention of his descent or of the glories of his ancestors, since he would himself attach little or no importance to them.

Nam genus proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra puto. . . .

He received a liberal education owing to the care and generosity of his parents; and after some years passed in the study of theology and canon law in the famous University of Louvain, he obtained the degree of Doctor in both faculties. Later he taught these sciences in Louvain, in Rheims, and Lille. Afterwards, having advanced in the practice of piety and devotion, the Apostolic See thought him a fit person to be appointed to rule over the Catholics of his native country. The schism was at this time raging in Ireland.

Wherefore, having been appointed Archbishop of Cashel by Gregory XIII.,¹ he set out on his journey to Ireland. But there was a difficulty in obtaining a passage, owing to the great dangers that Catholic merchants and sailors ran at the hands of the heretics in those times of trouble and confusion. He waited for a while in Brittany, watching for an opportunity. At length he found a Drogheda vessel in the

¹ September 11th, 1581. There is a Latin poem on his consecration in *Spic. Osser.*, i. 80.

harbour of Corosic.¹ He went to the owner, and bargained with him for a passage to Ireland. There were in the port at this time other ecclesiastics from the same country who also wished to return; amongst them Nielan,² Abbot of Newry, of the Cistercian Order, made earnest application for a passage.

And that all may know the great dangers which are every day run by our missionaries when going to their native country to pour out their sweat, and even their blood if necessary, for Christ and His Church, we must understand that the difficulties are endless in obtaining honest and faithful men to whom the poor passengers can entrust their lives. For if either the merchant or the captain of the ship, or the common sailors, (who very often belong to other nations, Welsh, English, or Scotch people), are imbued with the new errors, a rare thing in a true Irishman, the poor priest runs great risks, and especially if he is an ecclesiastic of a high position or of great learning, or even if he is merely suspected of belonging to the ecclesiastical state, as lately happened to two regulars of the Institute of the Capuchins, whose harmless manner of life and virtues are known and publicly spoken of by all not altogether strangers to the Catholic faith. These two, by their unforeseen escape from the hands of their pursuers, give others good reason for putting their trust in the divine mercy, which never abandons those who rely on it, nay, even protects with uplifted arm those who are in danger lest they may fall, or withdraws them from the risk that they may not be affrighted, and everywhere guards and strengthens them, that they may confess the name of God, when necessary, before the kings and princes of this world.

But we speak of the great and also of the manifold dangers which those, even unawares, must encounter who

¹ At the mouth of the Loire.

² See *Triumphalia Mon. S. Crucis*, pp. 65 and 273.

resolve to promote the salvation of their neighbour in Ireland. I say there is danger when they put themselves in the power of the sailors, that after embarking the ship may be wrecked, owing to treachery, the desire to betray them, or the fear of incurring any loss. There is danger on the shores of that Catholic land and elsewhere, that their landing may be notified beforehand by the spies and informers of which sea-ports are sometimes full, even in the Catholic countries from which the ship sets sail. There is danger, too, that the guards and governors of the towns where they land may seize them and cast them into prison. There is danger on the broad ocean that they may fall in with heretical pirates, as hurtful as the Syrtes or Charybdis, by whom they may be put to death through hatred of the Catholic faith. There is danger every moment that they remain in their native country of falling into the hands of their enemies, as lately happened to the Abbot, the Rev. Father Paul Ragget,¹ after a residence of several years here; the same fate befell the Rev. James Quin, priest, shortly before. The former was just going on board a ship to leave the kingdom; the other was about to make his way to the harbour to pass over to France. Both were suddenly seized, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Both learned how full of danger every place is, though the last who was seized got free by greasing the hand of his jailer, the former still remaining in prison with other fellow-captives, regular and secular priests, having less to give, as it would seem, of that ointment and oil of sinners. But the marriage of the Prince, which we pray will prosper, may, with God's aid, bring comfort and security to all these and to the rest of our countrymen too.²

¹ He was Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin. He died in Kilkenny in 1634. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

² The reference is to the negotiations at this time (1619) going on about the Spanish marriage. See Introduction, p. 22.

And whereas what meets our eyes every day has led me away into this digression from the narrative which I began, the recording of our sufferings and sympathy for those who endure these trials daily will be my excuse for what I have inserted here by way of parenthesis; for I merely wished to point out the many dangers which our Archbishop had of necessity to encounter when returning to his country, like a sheep going voluntarily to the slaughter.

He had already handed over to a certain Wexford merchant the rescript and the other documents, which showed the exalted office for which he was selected and the portion of Christ's flock committed to his care, for he did not thrust himself into the episcopate and the care of a flock without being called thereto, as the heretics did of old and do even now. But he was sent, ordained, and instituted by the Apostolic See, and therefore could say in all truth: 'We have been chosen by the Lord and the Holy One of Israel, our King.' He wished to send over these holy objects by the hands of others by a different way, that he might make the voyage with more safety, and that the merchants who gave him a passage might be secure from harm too.

In truth, the risks run by merchants who give passages to such persons are very great. The captain of the ship R. H., and many before, and still more after, felt the truth of this. In proof of it, G. D., who had some knowledge of the passage of E. G.,¹ the Primate, to Ireland, expiated his crime by an imprisonment of three years and serious injury to his property, whence it appears that no one can enter the country, leave it, or dwell in it, without incurring danger.

The Wexford merchant, who had charge of his papers, fell in with pirates; by these he was robbed, and ill-treated to such an extent that he was grateful for being left alive.

¹ Edmund Magauran, of whom more later.

The Archbishop, having got a passage on the Drogheda ship, entrusted himself to the divine keeping, and after a fair voyage, landed at the island of Skerries.¹ Soon after he set out for Drogheda, and while staying at an inn, there arose a discussion on religion in his presence. On such occasions he could hardly refrain from exerting his zeal and making use of his learning. A heretic who was seated by him, Walter Baal by name,² which designates at once a son of the devil and a son of Belial, taking offence thereat, burst forth into insults, and very soon after rushed off to Dublin, and gave information about Dermot, filling the minds of the Lords Justices with suspicion. The departure of this treacherous guest made the Archbishop suspect his wicked purpose, and a worthy citizen confirmed his suspicion, for he secretly warned his companion and guide of the danger, that they might make haste and leave the town. This same Dillon soon after paid the penalty of his kindly office of guide by a long imprisonment, and it was with difficulty, and solely through the influence of his elder brother,³ who was then a Privy Councillor, and held the office of Chief Justice of the Exchequer, that he escaped the penalty of death.

They followed his advice, and set off for Slane, where that famous man, Thomas Fleming, Baron of Slane, then resided. There they were conducted into a secret room by desire of that pious heroine, Catherine Preston, the Baron's wife. Here they remained in seclusion for some days, for they did not at all wish to be seen in public, whether at table, or meeting or conversing with anyone whom they did not know, until the plot laid by the traitor, Walter Baal,

¹ Sixteen miles north of Dublin.

² More about him later.

³ Sir Lucas Dillon. Queen Elizabeth used to call him her faithful Lucas, and rewarded him well for his services. He is buried at Newtown, near Trim. See Archdall's *Peerage*, iv. 155.

should be baffled and the report that he had spread abroad should cease.

When they thought they had escaped from him, they began to act with more freedom, to sit at table at the usual meals, to enter into conversation with those whom they met, to join the family circle, and they were not afraid to be seen or to speak with any guests that came the way. It so happened, whether by accident or on purpose, that Robert Dillon,¹ one of the Privy Council and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, came to the house. While they were seated at table, the conversation turned on some important topic which gave rise to a warm discussion, and in the middle of the dispute some words which showed his learning fell from the Archbishop's lips; these made the cunning Chief Justice, though he had a squint in one of his eyes, and was totally blinded by worldly ambition, mark the man carefully, and ask who he was, where he had come from, and much more, all of which he treasured up in the depths of his soul until an occasion should offer of putting it before the chief Governors and the Council. He mentioned the facts, and at the same time suggested a plan for bringing the Archbishop from his place of concealment to answer for himself before the Council of the kingdom; if he had fled from the place, he said his suspicions were not lessened by the flight, but rather strengthened, and in that case the Baron himself should be called before the Council to answer for him, or should bring him to them. As a fact, he had fled. The Baron was brought before the judges, and bitterly rebuked for having admitted into his house a wicked man, a rascal, a traitor, a disturber of the public peace; for having allowed him to sit at his table, and for having kept and supported within the walls of his house one who was a canker of the state. He should be mulcted in a heavy fine

¹ Of the Riverston family. p. 144.

and a long imprisonment, or he should bring to them the Archbishop, wheresoever he had concealed himself. The Baron, frightened by these threats and in a state of great terror, immediately went off in search of him. This man, wholly taken up by the cares of this world, and lukewarm even then in his faith, and not at all earnest in his zeal for religion, thought he could not save himself and his property in any other way, especially as his persecutors displayed such fierceness and threatened him with the severest torments.¹

Wallop's colleague, Loftus,² did not thirst for the blood of the innocent man to such an extent; he was rather inclined to mercy and moderation, for by nature he was more gentle, as became the Chancellor of the kingdom, who had to decide what was right and just; but the other, who shared the government with him, was a disciple of Mars, and trained up in the arts of Bellona rather than in those of Pallas, blood-thirsty and fierce, and could not be appeased or satisfied unless blood was shed. An ill-founded suspicion haunted his mind in reference to Dermot, that he had a knowledge of, or took part in, a process which had been carried on shortly before at Rome or Madrid against a nephew or other relative of his, who had been accused by his countrymen of reviling the Catholic religion, and had been handed over by them to the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition to be punished or censured. It was said commonly that the decision in the case fixed a barb in his soul, which he thought could not be removed, or the wound inflicted by it healed, in any other way than by the executioner blunting it or covering it with blood in the body of the martyr. As the judges knew this well, they warned the Baron to make a careful search, and to bring Dermot to them, if he wished to save himself.

¹ Sander says Nicholas, Baron of Slane, had been imprisoned several times for the faith. *De Visib. Mon.*, p. 672.

² Then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. See Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 108. He and Wallop were Lords Justices then.

The Baron of Slane, who thought more of his own safety than of that of his friend the Archbishop, set off in pursuit of the flying lamb, I do not say like a wolf or a hound, but rather as an active hunter. He overtook him¹ at Carrick, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Saving Wood of the Cross,² which he had vowed some time before, when he was in danger of shipwreck, to make as soon as he landed, and in very civil language suggested to accompany him to Dublin, that he might appear before the Lord Justices, prove his innocence, and make it evident to everyone that he had come to Ireland in a truly ecclesiastical spirit and through zeal to preach the Gospel.

What was the pious Bishop to do? He was not concerned about the risk to his own life, and he wished to save the Baron. Thomas Butler, of pious memory, the famous Earl of Ormonde³ was then at Carrick. He loved Dermot, and revered his virtues and exalted office. He ordered food and other necessities of life to be supplied from his own house to Dermot clandestinely; some even say that he was privately called in by the Earl to give the sacrament of confirmation to his son James,⁴ born a short time before, who died at an early age in England.

The unsuccessful rising of the southern nobles was crushed just at this time. The Earl of Desmond, now that his forces were few in number and his strength much impaired, was looking for a hiding-place, for there alone could he hope for any security. I will not enter into the reasons of the failure, nor do I impute blame to any one. Some think that when Desmond was on his way to the most re-

¹ Richard, a distinguished musician, wrote an elegy: 'The Fall of the Baron of Slane.' This is given in Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 87, under the name of 'Lament of Sloan.'

² At the Monastery of Holy Cross, Co. Tipperary. The Relic is now at the Ursuline Convent, Cork. An account of it is given in *Triumphalia*, lx.

³ The 10th Earl. See Archdall's *Peerage*, iv. 3.

⁴ Lord Thurles, father of James, first Duke of Ormonde; he was drowned on his way to England.

tired place he knew of and abandoned by his own party, Dermot, either of his own accord or urged thereto by some one else, wished to visit and console him, and if he could do so, to urge him to enter on a course safer as well as more dignified. If he followed this good advice, and his capture had not put a stop to Dermot's wise plan, Munster, now sorrowing and wasted by slow ruin, would not have lamented the Earl's death which followed, a crime committed by two wicked rogues and infamous murderers.¹

The Archbishop travelled with the Baron the different stages of the road to Dublin. But while the Baron stayed at the public inns or was sumptuously entertained by his friends, the Archbishop's halting-place was the public jail, for this was thought likely to hold him more securely, as if he were another Mercury with wings on his heels, or a Dædalus with fleet pinions flying from the presence of angry Minos. It happened that one night during the journey he was confined in the prison at Kilkenny. Some Catholic went to pay him a visit of courtesy. The conversation turned on the Bishop of Ferns,² whom weakness, arising from fear, had overpowered to such an extent that he abandoned the Catholic faith. 'There are many,' said he, 'who are lions before the fight, yet are found to be timid as deer in the fight. I humbly implore our good Lord that the like may not happen to me; for he who thinks he stands, let him take care lest he fall.' In this way he worked out his salvation in fear and trembling, not puffed up with too much self-confidence, not cast down by cowardice. He chose the safer path between hope and fear, and he remained in the fold of the Catholic flock with

¹ He was slain at Glenagheenty, near Castleisland. See *Annals F.M.*, v. 1795.

² Peter Power, appointed in 1582. He repented of his weakness four days after and was cast into prison. See the letter of the Bishop of Killaloe dated Oct. 29th, 1584, in the *Irish Eccles. Record*, i. 476. He died at Compostella in 1587. *Hib. Dom.*, p. 602.

the sheep of Christ, who listen to the voice of Christ in that of his Vicar.

When the Archbishop reached Dublin, he was brought into the presence of the Lords Justices, and examined in great detail by the Council. Though he was accused of many crimes wrongfully, which were neither proved against him nor true, he showed he was free from all guilt. Adam Loftus, the Chancellor, dealt with him in a kindly manner, and by setting before him many temptations, tried to persuade him to conform, as they call it, and to accommodate himself to the customs of the present time. Henry Wallop addressed him in a savage manner, and reviled him in abusive language with many insults and threats, and his inveterate hatred against the orthodox creed could not be appeased otherwise than by the murder of this victim, whom he marked out by his looks and in his thoughts for slaughter.

Though he was examined at different times, yet not the slightest proof could be given of the charges made against him. He could not be convicted by open trial, as neither the crimes were proved against him nor did he make any confession of them, according to the common and municipal law that prevails in this kingdom and the answers of the judges who were questioned on the subject. They were asked whether he might not be sent to England and brought to trial there under the statute recently¹ passed by order of the Queen against Catholic subjects of that kingdom, especially if they were at all suspected of intrigues abroad. But since Ireland, though one of the possessions of the English Crown, is governed by its own laws, customs, statutes, and ordinances, constituting a different kingdom from England and having a parliament of its own, as well

¹ 27 Eliz. The words of this statute 'her Majesty's dominions' were understood by some lawyers to include only England and Wales. See *C.S.P.I.* (1606-1608), pref. lxxiii.

as different privileges, ranks, and tribunals, the judges were of opinion that he could not be sent to England against his will, or brought to trial in a different kingdom from that in which he was born.

Since then he was not subject to English law, and he could not be proved guilty by judicial process in his native country if he was treated in accordance with the forms of municipal law, a new system of trial was devised against him, that there might be no means of escape from the fangs of the cruel executioner. By the laws of war, certain crimes of soldiers are punishable with death by the General's authority, in order to check any disturbances or violation of military discipline. Wherefore this military tyrant resolved to have the peaceful Bishop put to death by military law, as he could not do so by the laws prevailing in time of peace. But first he should be subjected to the torture, so that even if no confession of crime could be wrested from him, he should be forced by the intensity of his sufferings to abandon the Catholic faith. But the cruel tyrant was disappointed in the case of Dermot. The fire of the love of Christ could not be overcome by the flames; the fire that burned without was less active than that which burned within him.

Fortunately we have been anticipated by a certain noble and learned man, a citizen of Dublin,¹ who could learn from eye-witnesses what he writes; perhaps, indeed, he was present when the cruelties were inflicted on the martyr. As he describes them in detail, we give his own words. After speaking very briefly of the martyrdom of Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, he adds in reference to Dermot O'Hurley:—

The Archbishop of Cashel met with a far more painful death; indeed the blood-thirsty cruelty of Calvinism may be seen from

¹ Stanhurst, *Brevi Premonitio*, p. 29.

this one act of barbarism. The executioners placed the Archbishop's feet and legs in boots filled with oil, they fastened his feet in stocks, and they put fire under them.¹ The oil, heated by the flames, penetrated the soles, legs, and other parts, torturing them in an intolerable way, so that pieces of the skin dropped from the flesh, portions of the flesh from the bared bones. He who was presiding over this torture, not being used to such strange cruelty, rushed hurriedly out of the room, that he might not look further at such savage conduct or hear the cries of the innocent Archbishop. The Calvinistic executioners wished to gratify their minds for a while with these strange cruelties, but they did not mean to be satiated thereby, for after an interval of a few days they hurried the Prelate, who had been racked and was almost expiring from the continued tortures, and had no thought then that he should be put to death so suddenly, to a field not far from Dublin Castle, at the break of day, lest the citizens should crowd to witness such cruelty, and there they hanged the innocent man from the gallows with a halter roughly made of twigs, that his sufferings might be all the greater. Whilst they were gratifying their innate love of cruelty, the blessed Bishop taken to the heavenly fountain of eternal life, is victorious though conquered, though he was slain he lives, triumphing for ever over the cruelty of the Calvinists.

In the cries of the Archbishop of which I speak there was no trace of loud murmuring, no token of an impatient mind, no complaint like that of Esau in his sorrow, no weeping or lamentation, no feigned tears, but the pious outbursts of a Christian soul which felt the bitterness of its tortures. For he was a man of sorrow, and acquainted with infirmity, and from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head he was in torture. Not only his feet and legs were penetrated by the hot oil and salt, not only did the skin and flesh fall from the joints, not only were the muscles and nerves, the veins and arteries, saturated with the fiery mixture, not only were the limbs and sinews and bones pierced by this fierce fluid, but his whole body was devoured by the heat, and at the same time bathed in a cold sweat.²

¹ The print opposite the title-page is taken from Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum*, p. 81. The Bishop of Killaloe alludes to this kind of torture in his letter about Morrough O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, *postea*.

² O'Sullivan says he was tortured in this way for an hour. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 125.

With a loud voice he used to cry out: 'Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me.' These words he uttered aloud; he repeated and pronounced sweetly, 'Son of David, have mercy on me'; and the raising of his voice with the elevation of mind was joined with the sweet harmony of his virtues. The instrument on fire stretched the strings, but it sent forth the one melody of the orthodox faith. The victim was stronger than his tormentors, and that loving faith, that purity of religion, that brightness of the orthodox light, could not be extinguished or dimmed by the penetrating salt or the burning oil.

He seemed to be exhausted by the extent of his sufferings while he was fastened to the stocks; he was speechless and senseless; he lay on the ground dumb and almost lifeless; he could not move his eyes or tongue, his hands or feet, or any member of his body. He who was superintending the execution began to feel uneasy, and to dread that while ordered only to inflict torture and apply the fire, not to kill, he had exceeded his orders and brought about the Archbishop's death. In great alarm, to avoid the guilt of killing him by the torture, he wrapped him up in linen and laid him on a bed of down, and poured a few drops of cordial into his mouth, to see whether there remained any feeling still in his tortured body, or the breath of life could be recalled. The following morning, as he had recovered a little, a drink of aromatic extracts was given to him, that he might be strengthened to endure new torments; and when he swallowed some of it from the spoon, his tormentors showed their joy, for they feared that they might receive from Wallop that which Perillus is said to have suffered at the hands of Phalaris by means of the brazen ox:

Et necis artifices arte perire sua.

Our martyr was visited in prison by Charles MacMorris, a priest of the Society of Jesus, then in Dublin. He had

a knowledge of medicine and surgery, and in return for cures effected on some noblemen, he had been released from prison, into which he was cast on account of his faith. By him the Archbishop was supplied with medicines and food, and at the end of a fortnight he was restored somewhat so as to be able to sit up, and even to limp about a little.¹ His enemies tried to make him waver in the faith. High positions, even one of the chief offices of the kingdom, were offered to him if he would resign the office of Archbishop which he held, renounce the primacy of Rome, and acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, both secular and ecclesiastical. Among others sent to question and tempt him was Thomas Johns,² now Chancellor of this kingdom. But he remained firm as the Marpesian rock, though the waves roared around him. His only sister, too, Honora O'Hurley, was directed and instructed to offer him a new temptation. And she, whether in good or bad faith I know not, earnestly besought him to yield. But, with a fierce look, he bade her kneel down before him, and humbly ask pardon for so great a crime against God, one injurious to her own soul, and odious and humiliating to her brother.

These Governors were soon about to resign their office, to be succeeded by Sir John Perrott, who had just come to Dublin. Before he entered on his office, word was brought to them that the Earl of Ormonde was coming in all haste to Dublin to welcome the new Viceroy and interpose on Dermot's behalf. But the ferocity of Wallop could not be appeased or satiated except by the death of this innocent man. Wherefore, as Perrott was about to receive the sword of office on Trinity Sunday, and as their authority ceased when he entered on office, lest their successor might turn

¹ *Ibid.*

² Thomas Johns was a native of Lancashire. In 1584 he became Protestant Bishop of Meath, and in 1605 he was transferred to Dublin. He died in 1619. See Ware's *Bishops*, p. 354.



(I) Torturing and (II) Hanging of DERMOT O'HURLEY, Archbishop of Cashel, A.D. 1584
(III) Execution of CORNELIUS O'DEVANY, Bishop of Down and Connor, and PATRICK O'LOCHKEAN, O.S.F., A.D. 1612

out to be too gentle towards the innocent man, on the preceding Friday, and at early dawn, as we have already said, he was put on a hurdle and taken out by the garden gate to the place where he was hanged, Wallop himself leading the way, as the report goes, with three or four of his guards. There he was hanged with a withe,¹ while he prayed to God and forgave his tormentors from his heart.

He was taken out of the Castle without any noise, that there might be no disturbance in the city. The Catholics who were imprisoned there, seeing what was taking place, cried aloud that an innocent man was going to be put to death. Among the rest, a certain Bishop shouted out that he rather deserved this punishment for the scandal which he was afraid he had given formerly, but that O'Hurley was a holy and innocent man and had done no wrong. The jailer flogged him and the others severely, and so made them keep silent. Only two of the townsmen met him as he was going to the place of execution. These and a friend of his, who had given him many proofs of affection and had exerted himself on his behalf ever since he was seized, accompanied him. Before mounting the scaffold he took hold of his friend's hand, and grasping it firmly he impressed on the palm of it a red cross, a holy token of his gratitude for such devotion.

The holy martyr was hanged in a green² near the city. After he had breathed forth his blessed soul, his body was buried by the heretics in the spot where he was executed. William Fitzsimon placed it in a wooden coffin and removed

¹ 'Strangled with a wyth,' says Copinger. *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 38. This wyth or 'gad' is represented in Verstegan's print.

² Saint Stephen's Green, as an old tradition says. The Green was then outside the city. The spot where he was put to death was, very probably, where Fitzwilliam Street crosses Baggot Street. This was the place where executions took place up to a comparatively late date.

it to a place of safety. Towards evening it was buried in the ruinous chapel of St. Kevin, which is close by.¹ Many miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb, and in consequence the old church has been restored, and a road has been opened up for the people who frequent the place in great numbers, and are wont to commend themselves to the intercession and prayers of the holy martyr.²

We have a confirmation of the first part of Rothe's narrative in a letter written from Paris by two Irish priests, in the interval between the first time O'Hurley was put to the torture and his death, to Cardinal De Como, Cardinal Protector of Ireland.

'MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND PATRON,

'Two Irish youths arrived here yesterday who have brought the news that throughout the country in general there is nothing but persecution of the Catholics. In particular, they say that the Archbishop of Cashel, who has been in prison for seven months, has been put to the torture by the Viceroy, to make him confess things relating to a conspiracy of which they suppose he has knowledge, or else deny the faith. The torture was of this kind: They made him put his feet in a pair of new boots with butter and salt in them; then they tied him firmly close to a fire, so that, owing to the leather with which they bound his feet, and the boiling liquor, the flesh was laid bare. But with all this they gained nothing, for the Bishop was not brought to admit the one or deny the other. He answered them, that as to the supposed conspiracy, he knew nothing of it, and as regards the faith, he should be convinced by reasons and solid arguments, and that they would effect nothing by fear of death or torments. The Bishop of Ferns, who, it is reported, had wavered, and had in consequence acquired some repute among the heretics, repenting of the fault he had committed, came into the Viceroy's presence and there confessed the Catholic faith openly, expressing his sorrow for his former prevarication. Sir John Perrott is ordered to Ireland as Viceroy; he has made three requests of the Queen,

¹ In Camden Row, near the Meath Hospital.

² This practice of praying at his grave continued within the memory of persons still living.

as these youths say. 1. That he should be allowed during the time of his government to put anyone to death whom he would find to be a Catholic, without the ordinary process of law. 2. That of his own authority he could change magistrates and ministers of the law. 3. That he might impose taxes at will.

'Your lordship sees to what straits that poor country is reduced. May God in His infinite goodness protect it from such evils!

'From Paris, June 4th, 1584.

'Your Lordship's most devoted servants,

'WILLIAM NUGENT, BARNABY GEOGHEGAN.'

Some Protestant writers¹ have denied that O'Hurley was put to the torture. The testimony of those authors quoted above, who state the fact in positive terms, and who agree in almost every detail, ought to convince the most sceptical. Fortunately, as a further confirmation putting the matter beyond all doubt, we have the letters of the very persons by whose order the tortures were inflicted:—

The Lords Justices to the Worshipful Robert Beale, supplying the place of her Majesty's Chief Secretary, October 8th, 1583.

'By our last letters we gave you some inkling of the arrival here of one Dr. Hurley, upon intelligence whereof we caused so narrow search to be made after him, as we found he had been entertained at the house of the Baron of Slane and some others of good account within the Pale, and from thence was departed (in company with Mr. Perse Butler, base son to the Earl of Ormond) into Munster. Whereupon sending for the Baron of Slane, we so dealt with him as he travelled presently to the Earl for the apprehension of the said Hurley, and returning yesterday brought him unto us: but as yet our leisure hath not served to examine him.'

The Lords Justices of Ireland to Sir Francis Walsingham, October 20th, 1583.

¹ Theiner, *Annales Eccles.*, iii. 818.

² King, in his *Printer of the Church History of Ireland*, iii. 1368; Elrington, in his preface to the *Works of Ussher*, i. 35. Froude gives an account of the torturing of the Archbishop in *Hist. of England*, x. 600.

³ He was one of the principal Secretaries of State, and the chief agent of Cecil, the Prime Minister, in the most important affairs. Challoner says he was the unwearied persecutor of the English Catholics, and gives an account of his miserable death. See *Memoirs*, i. 143.

'We have committed Hurley close prisoner to the Castle. . . . We pray your Honour, that conferring with the Lord Treasurer, you will procure us resolution upon our former joint letter to his Lordship and you . . . what course we are to hold with the Popish Archbishop.'

Same to same. Dec. 10th, 1583.

'Among other letters directed to us, and brought by this last passage, we received one from your Honour, declaring her Majesty's pleasure for the proceeding with Dr. Hurley by torture or any other severe manner of proceeding, to gain his knowledge of all foreign practices against her Majesty's state, wherein we partly forbore to deal till now because that Mr. Waterhouse (whom we used only in the former examinations) was employed in Connaught with Sir Nicholas Malbie¹ in searching out the manner of death of the Baron of Leitrim,² and being now returned, we will enter into the matter again by examination of all such as transported Hurley, and such as hosted or entertained him after his landing, and will also deal with himself by the best means we may. But for that we want here either rack or other engine of torture to terrify him, and doubt not but at the time of his apprehension he was schooled to be silent in all causes of weight, we thought in a matter of so great importance and to a person so inward with the Pope and his Cardinals and preferred by them to the dignity of an Archbishop, the Tower of London should be a better school than the Castle of Dublin, where, being out of hope of his Irish patrons and favourers, he might be made more apt to tell the truth, and therefore do wish that we had directions to send him thither, which we think may be secretly done, as his departure hence should not be known, neither be discovered till he came thither, and in the mean season we would not only inform ourselves of all that may be gained here out of the examination of him and others, but also prepare that Barnewell, his accuser, may repair to the Court to justify his former deposition and other matters against Hurley, wherein we pray your Honour to be speedily informed if her Majesty please.'

Same to same. March 7th, 1584.

'Since the last term when the other general affairs here would have given us leave, we have at several times examined Dr. Hurley,

¹ He was President of Connaught from 1577 to 1584. See *Annals F. M.*, v. 1815.

² Second son of Richard, 2nd Earl of Clanricarde.

with whom albeit we dealt by all good means we could draw him to confess his knowledge not only of any practice of disturbance pretended against the land in particular, but also of any other foreign conspiracy against her Majesty for England. . . . Not finding that easy manner of examination to do any good, we made commission to Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Secretary Fenton¹ to put him to the torture such as your Honour advised us, which was to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots. . . . We desire your Honour to consider how he may speedily receive his deserts, so as not only his own evil may die with himself and thereby the realm delivered of a perilous member, but also his punishment to serve for an example ad terrorem to many others who, we find by his own confessions, are prepared at Rome to run the same course,² both here and for England. And herein we thought good to remind your Honour by way of our opinion, that considering how obstinate and wilful we find him every way, if he should be referred to a public trial, his impudent and clamorous denial might do great harm to the ill-affected here, who in truth have no small admiration of him. And yet, having had conferences with some of the best lawyers in the land, we find that they make a scruple to arraign him here, for that his treasons were committed in foreign parts, the statute in that behalf not being here as it is in England.³ And therefore we think it not amiss (if it be allowed of there) to have him executed by martial law, against which he can have no just challenge, for that he hath neither lands nor goods, and as by that way may be avoided many harms which, by his presence standing at ordinary trial and retaining still his former impudence and negative protestations, he may do to the people.'

Walsingham to the Lords Justices, April 28th, 1584.

'Your late letters of the 7th and 8th of last month by Mr. Alverie Randolph, together with the extract of the examination off-hand of others being of some length, and the time otherwise here full of great causes, I could not before now so impart to Her Majesty as I might withal know her mind touching the same for your Lordships' further direction. Wherefore, she having at length resolved, I have accordingly, by her commandment, to signify her Majesty's pleasure unto you touching Hurley, which is this:—That the man being so notorious and ill a subject, as appeareth by all the circumstances of his course he is, do pro-

¹ He was Secretary for Ireland for over twenty years. He died in 1608.

² See *Introd.*, p. 37, *ante*.

³ The opinion of the Judges is given at p. 147, *postea*.

ceed, if it may be, to his execution by ordinary trial of him for it; howbeit, in case you shall find the effect of his causes doubtful by reason of the affections of such as shall be his jury, and for the supposal conceived by the lawyers of that country that he can hardly be found guilty for his treason committed in foreign parts against her Majesty, then her pleasure is you take a shorter way with him by martial law. So, as you may see, it is referred to your Lordships which of these two ways your Lordships will take with him; and the man being so resolute to reveal no more matter, it is thought meet to have no more tortures used against him, but that you proceed forthwith to his execution in the manner aforesaid. As for her Majesty's good acceptance of your careful travail in the matter of Hurley, you need nothing to doubt, and for your better assurance thereof, she has commanded me to let your Lordships understand that, as well in all other the like as in this case of Hurley, she cannot but greatly allow and commend your doings.'

The Lords Justices to Sir F. Walsingham, July 9th, 1584.

'Having, by your letter unto us of the 29th of April, received her Majesty's resolution for the course to be holden with Hurley, namely, that we should proceed to his execution (if it might be) by ordinary trial by law, or otherwise by martial law, and having thereupon caused the lawyers and judges here to set down their resolute opinion in the matter, which was, that he could not be tried by course of her Majesty's common laws, as may appear by the copy enclosed, we thought meet according to your direction to proceed with him the other way, and for our farewell, two days before we delivered over the sword, being the 19th of the last (with the consent of the Lord Deputy), we gave warrant to the Knight Marshal in her Majesty's name to do execution upon him, which was accordingly performed, and thereby the realm well rid of a most pestilent member, who, notwithstanding the appearing of his treasons, even until he was given to understand her Majesty's resolute pleasure and our determination in that behalf, was continually in hope and (in an manner) in an assured expectation of some means to be wrought for his enlargement, if he might have found that favour to have his time prolonged but to the end of our government. Thus much we thought good to signify unto your Honour of our proceedings in that behalf, to be imparted unto her Majesty and the Lords, as your Honour shall see cause, and, in the meantime, do receive no small comfort by your Honour's signification of her Majesty's good reception and allowance of our careful and zealous travail in that matter. Wherein we have done

but our duties, so we will not, God willing, at any time omit to perform the same in like sort as occasion shall be offered, especially in such matters as so highly concern the glory of God and her Majesty's crown and dignity, to whom we account we owe not only all our endeavours, but also our lives and ourselves, and so, for the present, we betake your Honour to the tuition of the Almighty.'

(Enclosed.)

"Having, according to your Lordships' directions, conferred whether treasons committed in parts beyond the seas may by her Majesty's laws be tried within this realm, it appeareth unto us that before the statute made in the 35th year of our late Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII. it was doubtful in England whether such foreign treasons might be tried within that realm, for remedy whereof that statute was made and provided, and in the preamble thereof is set down, which statute is not confirmed nor established in this realm; wherefore, and for that we find no precedent for any such trial, and that the rules of common law appoint no ordinary trials for things beyond the seas, our opinion is, that things committed without this realm may not be tried here by order of her Majesty's laws, and so we humbly take our leave.

Dublin, the 1st of June, 1584.

Your Honours' humble servants to command,

Robert Dillon,
Lucas Dillon,
Edmund Butler,
Wilton Bathe,
Edward Fitzsimons,
George Dormer,
Richard Barlinge,
Richard Sedgrave."

Rothe, in his list of Archbishops who suffered for the faith, gives 1583 as the date of O'Hurley's death. Most writers give 1584; and the correctness of the latter date is proved by the State Papers. About the day, too, there is some difference of opinion. The Lords Justices' letter says the warrant was given to the Knight Marshal on the 19th of June, and as the execution took place at early dawn

(matutino crepusculo),¹ Cardinal Moran thinks it will have taken place on the following day, June 20th (old style), or June 30 according to the present style.

See also Verstegan, Holing, Fitzsimon, Stanihurst, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Molanus, O'Daly, White, Lynch, Bruodin, O'Mollony, Porter, and Arsdekin.

1584. THADDEUS CLANCY.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 497.)

AMONG the many bold athletes who in the County of Limerick courageously sacrificed their property, and even shed their blood, to uphold the ancient Catholic faith, we must mention this brave man. He was of noble descent, and lord of Ballyrobert.² When the teachers of heresy were raging throughout Ireland, he joined with Gerald, Earl of Desmond, and offered an active opposition to the unjust decrees of the Queen and the efforts of her Ministers. This man, well known throughout the whole of Munster for his prudence, piety, courage, and generosity, could not hold out long against the great powers of darkness. He fell into the hands of the Queen's officers, and because he refused to admit the Queen's Supremacy and abandon the Church of Christ, he was run through with spears and beheaded, and so bore off the glorious crown of a martyr. His head was placed on the point of a spear, by order of the President of Munster, and taken from the place where he was executed to Listowel, in triumph; there it was exposed publicly to the mockery of the heretics. He suffered death on the 15th of September, 1584.

¹ O'Sullivan's words are: 'Summo mane ante solis exortum,' Very early in the morning before sunrise. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 126.

² There are several places of this name in Co. Cork, in the Ordnance Survey list of townlands, but none in Co. Limerick.

1585. DAME ELEANOR BIRMINGHAM.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 505.)

THIS noble lady lived in Dublin. She was the widow of Bartholomew Baal. She was worthy of honour, according to the words of St. Paul: 'Honour widows that are widows indeed, and have learned first to govern their own house and to make a return of duty to their parents, who being widows indeed and desolate, trust in God and continue in supplications and prayers night and day.'¹ Such was this widow. 'For she that liveth in pleasures is dead whilst she is living.' She was not such a one, but 'blameless, having care of her own, especially those of her household.' Everyone will admit that she had 'testimony of her good works, and brought up her children, and ministered to them that suffered tribulation, and diligently followed every good work.' How earnestly and carefully she did all this, I will set down here briefly.

How sincerely during the whole time of her widowhood she put her trust in the Lord by prayer, we may conclude from the fact that in addition to her morning and night prayers, which she hardly ever omitted, she devoted whatever time she could spare from the duties of her household and the occupations of Martha to reciting the rosary, the penitential psalms, the litanies, and other prayers.

On feast days she heard Mass, and thought it almost a crime to be absent from it even on ordinary days when she could assist at it. And that she might be more sure of being able to satisfy her devotion and assist at Mass each day, although the times were evil, and the authorities were persecuting the Catholics, she had a priest always in her house, to whom she supplied food, clothing, and lodging, and gave a yearly stipend, and in this way she had one

¹ 1 Tim. v.

always at hand to celebrate Mass, administer the sacraments, and pray for her, her family, and her household. For this reason charges were made against her to the Privy Council frequently.

At last pursuivants were sent to her house. They arrested her and the priest, as he was standing at the altar and offering the sacrifice of the Mass. Both were seized, and brought by a body of armed men into the presence of the Viceroy, the Chancellor,¹ and other members of the Council; and in such haste, and with such violence, that the priest was not allowed time to take off the sacred vestments. And in this way, he, clothed in the sacred vestments, and she, weighed down with old age, were hurried off in a cart to the prison; and that this capture and imprisonment of the priest might be more insulting, he was taken publicly through the street wearing the sacred vestments. Though this sight excited the laughter of the Protestants, it confirmed the Catholics still more in their faith. Just as when, during the reign of Diocletian, Marius, Martha, and Audifax² were led through the city of Rome, with their hands that had been cut off tied round their necks, the Catholics of Rome were roused by the sight to piety and constancy in the faith. On that occasion the pious lady was robbed of the chalice, the paten, and the other sacred ornaments, all of which these wicked plunderers, who had no regard for the rights of others, seized and turned to profane uses. For a while, too, she endured the hardships of imprisonment. But money smoothed the way, and some noblemen begged and importuned the royal ministers on her behalf, and so at last she was set free, and allowed to return home.

After she was let out of prison, she acted just as she had done before her imprisonment. She was earnest in her prayers and other exercises of piety. 'She was still, and saw

¹ Sir John Perrott and Adam Loftus.

² Their feast is on January 19th.

how sweet the Lord was.'¹ She relieved the wants of the poor, and this she did all the more readily and willingly, because she was grateful to God for being restored to freedom and to her own home. In her house she was to all a mirror of integrity and purity, of piety and innocence, of modesty and virtue to her household, to strangers, to all far and near. To virgins she was a model of purity; to widows, of continence; to all, a lamp of faith, religion, and holiness. Hence it was that noble ladies, who were anxious to have their children brought up in piety and virtue, used to send them from a great distance to be educated in her household, as being the home of piety and school of virtue. These, when handed over to her for training, she made handmaids of virtue. What St. Basil² said of his grandmother, Saint Macrina, in his epistle to the people of Neocæsarea, that when a child he was trained to virtue by her, and for that reason he calls her his nurse in the faith, and he boasts that he still held the same faith which he had drunk in as pure milk from her breast; all that with full truth many in Ireland might well say of this generous and venerable lady, for in their earlier years she planted in their souls the seeds of piety, and when they grew up she watched over them with increased care.

But the hardness of heart of her eldest son, Walter Baal, grieved her soul. From holding intercourse with the innovators, he had drunk in some of their errors. She tried by every means in her power to banish from him that leaven of malice. She prayed in public and in private; she besought and entreated the divine goodness to cure his wickedness; she asked the prayers of others for the same end. There was no priest, secular or regular, no bishop or anyone else in any way remarkable for his learning and piety whom, whenever an opportunity offered, she did not

¹ Psal. xciv. 8.

² Epist. 64, 75, 79.

beg to aid her in the work of his conversion. You would think that Monica had come to life again, and was renewing her efforts to bring back Augustine, who had strayed away from the true faith. But Monica was more fortunate, for she obtained her request at last, and her son became not only a Catholic, but a most valiant champion and defender of the true faith; whereas the wicked son of that pious mother Eleanor, turned out a son of Belial. He served Baal and adored him, and he became a Nabal; according to his name he is a fool,¹ and he carried down his folly with him to the grave, and though many others by the efforts of this lady were brought back from their errors, he hardened his heart, and obstinately died in his blindness. To crown his wickedness, he was not satisfied that he himself should wallow in the mire of error, but he bitterly persecuted his mother, that she also might be defiled in the same way. For when he became Mayor of Dublin,² he was so hard-hearted and truly venomous towards his own mother that, old and weak as she was, he had her put into prison; and as on account of her feeble condition she could not walk there, he placed her by force on a litter, and ordered her to be borne on it as on a bier. This he did, having tried every other way to bring her to conform to his creed. All this she endured with patience, and leaving behind her a sweet odour of constancy, patience, and untarnished faith, she died happily in prison in the year of our Lord, 1584.

A work, the title of which we have given elsewhere,³ thus speaks of the death of Walter Baal:—'In this same year, 1599, Walter Baal, a senator of Dublin, truly a man of Belial, so wicked a son that he dragged his mother by force into the congregation of the impious and sacrilegious,

¹ 1 Kings xxv. 25.

² Walter Ball was Mayor of Dublin in 1580, and Nicholas Ball in 1582.

³ *Supplicia Magna*, in *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 27.

a hunter after the anointed priests of the Lord, one day with a crowd of attendants went to search for a certain Franciscan Father and a Father of the Society of Jesus. These he just missed. On his return home disappointed, he was seized with sudden madness, and breathing blasphemies he went to join the other persecutors of priests.'

See also Holing, Molanus, and Lynch.

1584. JOHN O'DALY, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

HE was a priest of the convent of¹ . . . and was seized by some English horsemen that met him on the road. They bound his hands together with his girdle, and led him along to the prison, tied to the reins of a horse. He was told to run along with them, but he could not keep up with them, owing to his advanced age and the speed of the horses. He was therefore dragged along the road for some time, and then trampled by the horses of their companions who came up. His body was crushed in this way, and so he died a glorious martyr in the year 1584.

See also Wadding.

1584 (?) MR. AILWORTH.

(From Challoner's *Memoirs*, i. 98 and 227.)

DR. BRIDGEWATER relates that Mr. Ailworth, a secular gentleman, for his constancy in the faith was not only cast into prison and there put in irons, but also thrust by the jailer into a nasty dungeon, or rather a common sewer, where he perished by the stench within eight days.²

¹ The name is written very indistinctly.

² *Conciliatio*, p. 412.

Henry Holland in a letter gives some further details of his sufferings and death—'I cannot pass over in silence Mr. Ailworth,¹ a young Irish gentleman, of a singular zeal for religion, who had hired a house not in any street but among the gardens, commodious enough for preaching and mass, where the Catholics sometimes met in a pretty good number for the divine service, much to his content and satisfaction, who set more value upon what belonged to the honour and worship of God than upon any earthly toys. But the thing became known and reached the ears of Fleetwood, the Recorder of the city. This furious man with constables came to the house, and finding Mr. Ailworth in his chamber, carried him away to prison, even to the very worst prison in London. And in this way being displeased at some word that the gentleman spoke, gave this most constant confessor a violent blow on the head, then ordered him to be put into a filthy dungeon, destitute of all things, strictly forbidding any one to be admitted to visit him or give him anything; so that the young gentleman in eight days' time was brought to his end by the stench and filth of the place.

1584 (?)² CISTERCIAN MONKS OF GRAIGUENAMANAGH.³

(From O'Sullivan's *Decas Patriciana*, fol. 163 b.)

O'SULLIVAN gives the following account of the martyrdom of the Cistercians of Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny:—

'This noble monastery is situated on the river Barrow.

¹ A family of this name lived at Faithlegg, Co. Waterford. There is a shield over the doorway of the old castle of Passage East, inscribed 'Ailward' in black letter. Sir Richard Aylward, in 1606, showed great servility in the matter of religion. See *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 466.

² There is no means of fixing the date accurately.

³ Founded in 1207 by William Marshal the elder. A facsimile of the Charter is given in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of Irish MSS.*, pt. 2, no. lix. The church is now used as the Catholic church of the parish.

The robbers went to seize on it. When they were approaching, twelve of the religious went in ecclesiastical procession to meet them. When they were ordered by those wicked men to take off their sacred vestments and to yield obedience to Queen Elizabeth, their superior replied (this was the Prior, for the Abbot Charles Cavenagh, who is buried in the old monastery, had died a few days before): That could not be done if they would keep intact the faith which they had pledged to God, his Virgin Mother, and St. Bernard, and the Christian piety of which they made profession; they would not violate their promise or their duty as Christians. The others gave their assent to his resolution, and they were all slain.'

1585. MAURICE KINREGHTIN.¹

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 482.)

HE was born in the town of Kilmallock, and departed this life in the town of Clonmel; the former is in the diocese of Limerick, the latter in that of Lismore. I will pass over his childhood and youth, and give an account of his manhood and riper years.

Having chosen the ecclesiastical state and obtained the degree of Bachelor of sacred theology, he became chaplain and confessor to Gerald, Earl of Desmond; and when the Earl joined the united chieftains, he did not abandon his chaplain, nor did his chaplain desert him. With an honest intention and firm faith, Maurice acted with the Earl; for a good purpose, and with an upright intention of pleasing God and appeasing his wrath, he attached himself to the united chieftains; not from a spirit of party or any inten-

¹ The name is written by some MacKenrahty, and Kent.

tion of rebelling, but through love of peace in Christ, and to join in the unity of the Catholic faith those who were divided into factions and sects, and to combat Satan in their hearts.¹

Whether in dealing with those outside the Church he used sufficient caution, this I do not inquire into; but I am quite sure he acted with candour. His true honesty of purpose and kindly innocence, illumined by the brightness of the eternal light, freed his pure and upright soul from stain before the supreme tribunal of Him who judges the whole world. 'For to the pure all things are pure, and blessed is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.'² But if any one cannot satisfy at once the duty of obedience and the voice of conscience, all theologians agree that the lesser obligation must give way to the greater, the lower to the higher, the human to the divine, the positive to the natural, the temporal to the spiritual, the profane to the sacred, earth to heaven, 'for all that is not of faith is sin.'³

Such was the difficult state of the times, such the straits in public affairs, and such the disturbed state of men's minds. It was the firm belief of many that they should have been delivered from this burthen and true liberty would have begun, if King James had carried out his good purposes, and yielded to the wish of his Privy Council, and to the request and desire of the native inhabitants for the free exercise of their religion and the external practice of divine worship. But we shall pass over these difficult questions, into which we have been drawn against our will, and show that Maurice gave most convincing proofs of his piety and constancy in the orthodox faith. His attention to prayer, his humble mode of life, his purity,

¹ Ephes. v. 13.; Col. iv. 5.

² Rom. xiv. 22.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. 23.

his gentleness in intercourse with others, his ardent love of God, his great charity towards his fellowmen in their wants, his fairness and prudence, his ever-burning zeal for God's glory, are the proofs thereof.

Though he was known by those who were intimate with him to possess all these virtues, and respected by everyone who had any regard for true worth, he fell into the hands of one Murtogh Swiney, a false-hearted and blood-thirsty man, a hired trafficker in soldiers, a runaway and deserter from his lord, with whom he had been a leader of galloglasses,¹ a class of men often employed in the wars throughout the country in former times. Maurice was seized by this blood-thirsty soldier, and we need not wonder if he handed him over for a bribe to the English soldiers, and through them to Sir John Norris, President of Munster. For as he trampled under foot for money's sake his allegiance to the Earl of Desmond and abandoned him when unarmed and defenceless, why should he treat his chaplain with more kindness? But the misery that befell his captor proved to the whole world the sinfulness of the capture.

Maurice was thrown into prison at Clonmel, and remained there for more than a year in chains. He bore with great patience the filth and stench of the place and the other hardships that accompany imprisonment. By word and example he urged those who approached him to draw near to God; some he exhorted to penance, others to constancy in the faith, others to restitution of property which they detained unjustly, others to almsgiving, all to piety. Though a captive for God's sake, he was as one not bound, for in his prayers he reached and in his charity he took in all his acquaintances and friends. The breadth of his generosity

¹ An English writer of the time describes them as 'picked men of great and mighty bodies, cruel, without compassion, choosing rather to die than to yield. The weapons they use most are a battle-axe or halberd, six feet long.' Dymock, *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 7.

did not allow him to keep aloof from his enemies; it penetrated among persons far off in distant places, so that he gathered all within the circle of his prayers. He dwelt most of all on the unity of the Catholic faith, outside which there can be no salvation, as formerly all outside the ark were shipwrecked and drowned. This he could preach to the Irish people with more confidence, for obedience to Rome seems to be inborn in them; so that he might with full assurance address them in the words of Moses to the Israelites, when he was about to die: 'Behold, heaven is the Lord's thy God, the heaven of heavens, the earth, and all things that are therein: And yet the Lord hath been closely joined to your fathers, and loved them, and chose their seed after them, that is to say, you, out of all nations, as this day it is proved.'¹ In truth, the inhabitants of this island seem to be chosen out of all nations to attach themselves closely to our Lord in all the hardships and calamities which they endure. And since Maurice seemed more closely united to God by the extent of his sufferings, he was more loved by his friends and God's servants, and hemmed round with more toils by his enemies.

About the feast of Easter, in the year 1585, when all the faithful not only are induced by voluntary devotion, but even obliged by the ecclesiastical precept, to receive Holy Communion, Victor White,² a respectable citizen of Clonmel, was anxious to gratify the imprisoned priest at this season, and also to satisfy the piety of his neighbours, who were very eager to make their confession to one who was in chains for Christ's sake and to receive Holy Communion from his hand. Wherefore he went to the head jailer, and for a certain sum of money obtained of him that the prisoner should be allowed out to pass that one night in his house.

¹ Deut. x. 14, 15.

² There are remains of some inscribed monuments of the White family in the grounds round St. Mary's Catholic church in the Irishtown, Clonmel.

The jailer agreed to his demand. The money was paid down, and the prisoner was let out, the other being security for his return. But the wretched spy was not satisfied with selling this brief release of the prisoner, he sought also to sell the pious host, the whole neighbourhood, and the life of the poor priest to the wicked President Norris, who came there just at this time. This secret plotter went to the President that very evening, and told him that, at the request of the townsman Victor, he had allowed Maurice to leave the prison that night, and to pass it in his house; that he was there at that moment, and that all the Catholics of the neighbourhood had been told that Mass would be celebrated there the next day; that soldiers could be sent the following morning to surround the house and seize them all unawares.

The President lent a willing ear to the informer, and got his soldiers ready, some to surround the house and others to enter it. When the hour for Mass was drawing near, while Maurice was still hearing confessions, after he had set up the altar in a part of the house away from noise and bustle, the pious dwelling was surrounded; the soldiers rushed in and seized on the people. The terror of the Catholics assembled there was very great. The trembling women and children hid themselves in dark corners; others escaped by the sloping roof, by the back doors, or through high windows. In their sudden flight some broke their legs, some their arms; but fear drove off fear, and pain banished pain.

Meantime the priest thrust himself into a heap of straw which lay about the courtyard. The soldiers tried this with their swords and pikes. They wounded the fugitive whom they were looking for in the thigh, but he, being almost insensible owing to fear, uttered no sound, and so escaped. The sacred ornaments were taken away; the chalice and the rest of the sacred vessels broken up; the

master of the house was cast into prison, and he ran the risk of losing both his life and his property if he did not bring back to prison the priest who had escaped. These two noble friends, Victor and Maurice, vied with each other, the one to conquer, the other to die. I will not speak here of David and Jonathan, of Orestes and Pylades, of Damon and Pythias, of Theseus and Perithous, of Lelius and Scipio, or of the others famed for their friendship to each other to whom Greece, Rome, and Judea gave birth. Britain, our neighbour, produced Alban,¹ who while yet a Pagan, gave shelter to a Christian cleric, as Ireland did to Victor and Maurice. But inasmuch as the martyr's palm is more glorious than the confessor's crown, so was Alban more fortunate than the cleric, since he received the crown prepared for his guest, and while affording him a means of escape, he gladly brought on himself the sentence of death. And so too Maurice got back the crown which Victor would have obtained if victorious.

When secure in his hiding-place, he heard that Victor was in great peril; he returned to go meet the danger from which he had escaped, in order to save him. An exchange of the prisoners took place; Victor was set free, Maurice was bound hand and foot, placed in fetters, and cast into the lowest part of the prison, foul and reeking, and squalid in the eyes of men, but bright, glorious, fragrant in the eyes of the angels.

Sentence of death was pronounced upon him, though in an illegal way. He could have prevented its execution and saved his life, if he abjured the true faith and took the oath asserting the Queen's supremacy. But he chose the better part, he finished his course, and kept the faith. As to the rest, there was laid up for him a crown of justice

¹ His feast is on June 22. See his *Life* in Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, i. 830.

which the just Judge gave him, and will give to all that love His coming.²

I find there is a difference of opinion with regard to his sentence and the manner of his death. Some say that he was hanged until he was half-dead, and his head then cut off and his body divided into four parts. So says the *Manuscript History of the Irish Martyrs*; these are its words: 'When he came to the place of execution, he turned to the people, and addressed them some pious words as far as time allowed; in the end he asked all the Catholics to pray for him, and he gave them his blessing. He was hanged from the gallows, and taken down half-alive, his head was cut off, and his body was divided into four parts, and these were watched by the soldiers throughout the whole night, lest they might be taken away by the Catholics. On the following day the four parts were set on the cross in the middle of the town; the head was put on a higher place where it could be seen by all, and so he completed his glorious martyrdom.' Others say that after his head was cut off, the Catholics, either by entreaties or by bribes induced the executioner not to mangle the headless body any further or cut it in pieces. So the pious Father Robert Rochford, of the Society of Jesus, says in a letter which he wrote to his colleagues and companions about Maurice's death; this I will give in full, just as it came into my hands, at the end of this narrative. The difference in the accounts may have arisen from the fact that some supposed the sentence had been carried out in the usual way, in accordance with the commonly received form of words, and spoke of the sentence rather as pronounced than as executed; and therefore I should say that in the *History of the Martyrs* the sentence rather than its execution is spoken of. But since at times, either by special favour of the judge

² 2 Tim. iv. 8.

or owing to the kindness of the executioner, some part of the usual form of the sentence is omitted, though in its essential parts it is carried out, those who examined the matter thoroughly, describe it in greater detail, and it may be that this was done more carefully in the narrative of Father Rochford than in the *Brief History*.

Some such difference as this is to be found in the accounts given by those who have written of the martyrdom of Thomas More, for we read in some books (as in that of Paulus Jovius) that he was cut to pieces, in others that he was only hanged; and this is the more correct account.¹ But Jovius followed the words of the sentence which the judge pronounced on him. Others, entering into more details, speak of the mitigation of the sentence granted by the King, contrary to the usual practice. Whether anything of the kind occurred in the present case must be inquired into when occasion offers.

Whether his body was quartered or not, there is no doubt whatever but he was beheaded. His head was exposed for several days to the view of the public. The crowd that gathered round the foot of the cross in the market-place used to perceive each day, about ten o'clock, an outburst of ruddy colour and of perspiration on the forehead and cheeks. Some remarked that this was the precise time when Maurice, while he was at liberty, used to celebrate Mass. As it was, his remains after death kept alive the flame of devotion, and the light of God's love adorned the martyr's forehead.

Some perceived too, that his hands after his death formed of themselves the sign of the cross, the first fingers being crossed, and the thumbs laid on the index fingers. When the soldiers who were on guard saw this, they strove to

¹ The sentence of the court was that he should be hanged. It was commuted by the King to that of beheading, a favour which More expressed the hope that his friends might be spared. Lingard's *H. of England*, iv. 221.

separate them and to straighten them, so that they should not be in the form of a cross, yet they returned of themselves to the same position; as the elements return naturally to their centre when the obstacle is removed, so the fingers of the martyr returned and formed a cross. In this way he went to his crucified Lord, April 30th, in the year of our Lord 1585.

A copy of a letter of the Rev. Father Rochford¹ concerning the martyrdom of Father Maurice Kinreghtin:—

'I send a welcome gift, the account of the martyrdom of my intimate friend, Maurice Kinreghtin, a very holy priest, the chaplain of the Earl of Desmond, whom you knew well. For this reason he was seized by the English, taken to your native town Clonmel, and kept in prison there for over a year. On the eve of Easter Sunday, in the year 1585, Victor White, a leading man of the town and a pious Catholic, obtained from the head jailer permission for the priest to pass the night in his house. This the jailer allowed; but he gave private information to the President of Munster, an English heretic, who happened to be then in the town, that if he wished to seize the principal citizens hearing Mass, he could easily come on them in the house of Victor White at dawn of day; at the same time he bargained for a sum of money as the reward of his treachery. At the hour already named the soldiers rushed into the house and seized on Victor. The others, hearing the noise, escaped by the back doors and windows. A certain lady in her flight fell and broke her arm. The soldiers found the chalice and other things used for the celebration of Mass. They looked everywhere for the priest (he had not yet begun the Mass); at last they came to a heap of straw under which the poor man was lying hid; and thrusting their swords through it, they wounded him in the thigh, but he kept silent, and concealed his suffering, fearing still worse; soon after he left the town and went into the country. But the intrepid Victor, who could never be persuaded to go to the profane conventicles of the heretics, though he had suffered much in consequence, was now ordered to give up the priest; and because he refused, he was thrown into prison. He would have been put to death surely if Maurice, hearing of the danger in which his friend was, did not surrender of his own free accord to the President—

¹ See p. 119, *antea*.

an act of truly Christian friendship. The President upbraided him at great length, and after condemning him to death, offered to pardon him if he abjured the Catholic faith and professed that the Queen was supreme Head of the Church. A preacher came, and for a long time, but vainly, strove to seduce the martyr, nor would he on any account betray any of those who had assisted at his Mass, or to whom he had administered the sacraments. In fine he was dragged at the tail of a horse to the place of execution as one guilty of high treason. When he came there, he exhorted the people with much learning and piety to be constant in the faith. He was taken down when half-alive from the gallows and his head was cut off, and the preacher of error struck it a blow. By entreaty and by bribes the Catholics obtained of the executioners that they would not mangle his body any further, and they buried it with as much respect as they could. Farewell in the Lord, and be you imitators, if occasion offers, of the courageous Maurice Kinreghin. At least prepare your souls to be so. Your affectionate friend.

¹ From the College of St. Anthony,

² ROBERT ROCHFORD.

³ 20th March, 1586.

Holing's account¹ agrees in every particular with the above. He says he got his information from three persons worthy of credit, who were present when what they described was taking place; one of them was preparing the altar, the other two were natives of the town and knew the priest and the nobleman well.

It is to him most probably that F. Mooney refers in the following notice:

'In the Convent of Clonmel is interred the Rev. F. Maurice, a priest who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the heretics in the same town about the year 1589. His remains were buried behind the high altar.'

See also Holing, Copinger, Molanus, O'Sullivan, Wadding, Lynch, and Bruodin.

¹ See *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 89.

PATRICK O'CONOR AND MALACHY O'KELLY, O.CIST.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 449.)

PATRICK O'CONOR was descended from the very ancient and royal stock of the O'Conors in Connaught. Abandoning the deceitful pleasures of the world in the flower of youth, he made his religious profession in the celebrated monastery of Boyle,¹ in the diocese of Elphin, in Connaught, among the most observant of the disciples of the Mellifluous Doctor,² in the year of our Lord 1562. For twenty-three years he was seen to advance in every kind of virtue, in such a way that he became a shining light to his brethren by the practice of every good work. He was constant in prayer, and used to shed tears in abundance while so engaged. He was unwearied in works of charity, especially towards the sick. He was kindly to all, but he was very stern in chastising his own body. For the last fifteen years of his life he drank neither wine nor beer. He abstained from flesh meat during the whole time that he was a monk.

The Almighty wishing to reward these great merits, allowed that he and Father Malachy O'Kelly, a monk of the same monastery, a religious no less illustrious for his descent from an ancient and noble family than for his great virtues, should fall into the cruel hands of the fierce soldiers of Elizabeth. By these they were first hanged and then quartered at the aforesaid monastery, May 19th, 1585, through hatred of the Catholic faith, which this undaunted champion preached constantly up to his last breath. Bruodin refers the reader to a manuscript book in the College of Prague, in which an account is given of these martyrs, and also to Henriquez's *Menologium Cisterciense*.

¹ Founded for Cistercians in 1161. See *Triumphalia*, xxxviii.

² This title is often given to St. Bernard, as that of Angelic Doctor to St. Thomas.

According to Hartry, Father Malachy O'Kelly was pierced through the heart with a sword.¹

See also *Annus Cisterciensis*, Henriquez, and Hartry.

1585. VENERABLE RICHARD CREAGH, ARCH-
BISHOP OF ARMAGH AND PRIMATE.²

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 395.)

THIS great and famous Pontiff of the Irish church was an illustrious defender of the Catholic faith, and foremost amongst those who spread or restored the same in his native land. He was a native of Limerick. His parents, Nicholas Creagh and Joanna White, were persons of good position, if indeed they were not among the leading citizens. This city is in the province of Munster. It is beautifully situated in the middle of a well-cultivated country. A wall surrounds it completely. The river Shannon, far the largest of all the Irish rivers, by the advantages which its harbour offers, invites its citizens to engage in trade; hence the most respectable of them usually either train up their children or place them with others to be trained up in commerce.

It so happened that Richard in his early years was employed in commerce by his parents, just as St. Francis was. For some time he was engaged in learning its rudiments, and the way of carrying on a profitable trade in those wares of which the merchants keep the largest stock, since they are more frequently asked for by purchasers. Of this

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

² He is one of the two hundred and sixty-one venerable servants of God put to death in England for the faith, whose cause has been allowed to be introduced in the Sacred Congregation of Rites by the decree of December 4th, 1886.

class was saffron, a thing much valued by the Irish then for many purposes, such as the dyeing of cloths, the seasoning of food, and the preparation of drugs. In consequence, he had charge of the sale of this and other aromatic herbs in the merchant's shop. One day he perceived that the bags of saffron were damp, a common thing in the case of that oily plant. And as his timid conscience was afraid that there might be some wrong done to the buyers in consequence, having learned from the divine law that the adulteration of merchandise and unequal measures were unjust, he set out the plant to dry in the sun, lest his soul might suffer any hurt from the addition which he thought would take place in its weight. He was often tormented by the thought of the dangers to which those in trade are exposed in buying, managing, and selling their wares. In truth the Lord had chosen him for the business of winning souls, to make a girdle and to sell it to the Chanaanites, and to be a ship bringing bread from afar.¹ Nor was he one of those senseless persons who, when dressed in garments of saffron, embraced the mire; but rather he considered saffron and cinnamon and all other precious balsams as dirt, that he might gain Christ.² Abandoning, therefore, this trade that he might prepare himself the better to bear the Cross of Christ, though his relatives and friends at first offered some opposition, he obtained leave from his master to quit his house, and bidding farewell to the world, he devoted himself to study and piety, and wishing to engage in another trade, as he knew of the treasure hidden in the field, of that precious pearl, the great value of which is set forth in the Gospel,³ he sold all he possessed in order to purchase it.

As soon then as he was freed from the service of the merchant with whom his parents had placed him, and had

¹ Prov. xxxi. 14, 24.

² Phil. iii. 8.

³ Matt. xiii. 46.

left the walls of the warehouse where the spices were sold, and had put away from his soul the thoughts of saffron and of the other sweet-scented herbs, he gave forth an odour of balm and ambrosia. 'I gave forth a sweet fragrance like cinnamon and aromatic balm; I yielded a sweetness of odour like the choicest myrrh.'¹ To him might well be applied the words of St. Basil: 'As the sweet smelling herbs diffuse through the surrounding air a peculiar fragrance which refreshes those who are near, so a good man is useful and agreeable to all who dwell in his neighbourhood.' This he showed in reference to those with whom he was in daily intercourse. We will set forth in greater detail the different stages by which he was led on under the guidance of divine Providence.

The God of Mercy made use of this sting of his tender conscience to rouse him, and so prepared him to be a worthy and fit instrument to endure and carry out all that he did in the course of his life that ended so happily. And although that scruple may appear in itself trifling and originating in something very small, yet we must not think that a trifle which God employed in this way to bring about something of endless importance.

It is known that he resolved to devote himself wholly to God's service, in gratitude for special protection he received. As he was about to set sail from Spain, where he had gone on business connected with his trade, he entered a church and seeing Mass was just commencing, he assisted at it to its close. When he came out, the ship in which he intended to sail was clearing out of the harbour with a very favourable wind. But while still within sight of those on shore, she was struck by a sudden gust and sunk with every one on board.²

¹ Eccles. xxiv. 2.

² O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 103.

Having laid aside the burden of worldly trading, he prepared himself for a more useful work. As soon as he had learned the elements of the Latin tongue in his native country, he went to Belgium, and devoted himself to the study of polite literature in the famous University of Louvain.¹ When he had gone through the course of philosophy and taken the degree of Master of Arts, he devoted himself wholly to sacred theology, and after passing some years in that study, he was on trial found worthy to receive the degree of Bachelor.

He now resolved to return to his native country, which was then overrun with briars and thorns, on account of the schism that had sprung up anew under Queen Elizabeth, for her Catholic sister was dead at this time. It had grown strong by reason of the false teaching which had spread throughout that kingdom and especially in his native city. He was very eager to root it out and to sow better seed there. He was a priest when he returned from abroad. He laboured zealously, exhorting in private, preaching in public, performing all the duties of a priest; he warned all earnestly against the impious form of oath asserting the ecclesiastical primacy claimed by the Queen, against all communication with schismatical officials, and he withdrew very many from taking any part in either.

As nothing remains more firmly fixed in the mind than what is learned in childhood, he devoted to the training of youth in virtuous practices whatever time he could spare from the anxieties and duties of the sacred ministry, bearing in mind what St. Irenæus has wisely remarked:— 'The knowledge of what we have learned in our youth grows with our growth, and is firmly fixed in our soul.' 'A young man according to his way; even when he is old,

¹ He obtained a free bourse from the Almoner of Charles V.

he will not depart from it.'¹ He opened a school and taught letters and virtue to children and boys, to any one in fine who came. 'What greater or better service can we render to the state than to teach and instruct youth,' says the father of Roman eloquence. 'For as the ruin of town and country alike is brought about by the neglect or improper performance of this duty, so the common weal is promoted by its proper discharge. For how can the country be secure, how will its government be good, unless its rulers are good? And how can magistrates be good unless the citizens from whom they are chosen are good too? And these cannot be so unless they are virtuous in their childhood and in their youth.' Our forefathers offended grievously in former times, in grossly neglecting the proper education of their children. Our rulers offend still more grievously now in using every means to corrupt our youth, by infusing into their tender minds poison in the guise of honey, and preventing them from frequenting freely Catholic schools, in which they would be trained in piety as well as in learning. Wherefore Richard² devoted himself with all possible earnestness and zeal to the task of educating youth and forming their tender minds to the orthodox faith, and hardening them in the furnace of the Catholic creed to endure every hardship for Christ.³

After some time, not knowing the inspirations of the grace of the Holy Ghost, and seeing that what he had done already was trifling in comparison with what he saw yet remaining undone, though wholly employed in promoting the Catholic faith, yet thinking that something

¹ Prov. xxii. 6.

² He obtained from Pius IV. a Rescript, in 1564, authorising him to establish a University in Ireland. See *Spic. Ossor.*, ii. 32.

³ Pedagogy was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland by the Catholics, especially for this reason: that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion and so consequently kept out of protestantism. *Athenæ Ossor.*, i. 575.

was wanting to him to follow Christ perfectly, he left Ireland. Perhaps he was worn out by his labours, or he wished to avoid danger, or he was urged on by a desire to advance in learning or to enter on a more strict manner of life. Wherefore he visited Catholic countries, and at last came to Rome. There he became known to Pope Pius V., and was much esteemed by him. He was forbidden by him to enter a religious Order,¹ a thing he desired very much, until he should learn later what the wish of the Holy Father was. His Holiness had determined to send him back to Ireland, though he was not then aware of the fact, to defend and console the Catholics dwelling there; and that the field for his labours and zeal on behalf of religion might be wider, he resolved to consecrate him Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland,² for that See was then vacant owing to the death of his illustrious and revered predecessor, George Doudal,³ who died almost at the same time as Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, in England where he had gone about some business that concerned his church. In vain he put forward the dangers of the journey, the difficulty of landing, the calamitous condition of the country, the sufferings of the Catholics, in order to escape from and refuse the burthen laid on him. He was consecrated, and full of the heavenly spirit he set out for his native country, passing through Germany and Belgium. In one of the ports of the last-mentioned country he took ship for Ireland; but contrary winds drove her from her course, and made her put into Dover. From this place he made his way to London, and after a few days' stay there, he set off for Ireland, which he

¹ The Order of the Theatines. See Moran's *Introd. to Rothe's Analecta*, p. xlix.

² He was appointed March 22nd, 1564, and consecrated a few days after in Rome. During the reign of Queen Mary he had been offered the See of Cashel, but refused it.

³ See *Introd.*, p. 7.

reached in safety.¹ But, though he escaped from the storms on the sea, he fell in with greater storms on land. After landing and going a few days' journey, he was seized by wicked men, the enemies of the faith, shortly before Christmas, taken to Dublin, and later to London, and shut up in a narrow cell in the Tower, which is called the Whale's Hall.² The place was very dark and shut out from the light of the sun; the only light allowed the prisoner was a piece of tallow candle, which the guards thought enough for him to take his food. But he, more anxious to supply food to his soul, in order to have light to read prayers in a book which he had concealed, with wonderful skill made for himself out of strips of his shirt steeped in the fat of the meat given him for food a rude sort of light, not pleasing to the sight or smell, yet the warmth of his piety and his needs made it bright and sweet-smelling.

After a time he was taken from this den into a larger and healthier room in the same Tower, in which he could breathe purer and more wholesome air, and where some light penetrated, not hidden away in darkness so that a ray of the sun could not enter to him by a chink. Here he remained for some time; and, though he was worn out by many sufferings, and usually deprived of all human consolation, and hopeless of relief, yet he was not abandoned by God, nor was his courage less. He put his faith and trust not in the arm of the flesh, nor in the fleeting vanity of the world, but in that light and in that source of all consolation whose streams never fail. He placed his reliance, not

¹ The following will help the reader to understand Rothe's narrative better:—In April, 1564, Dr. Creagh was consecrated in Rome, and came to Ireland in October. He was arrested immediately, taken to London, and confined in the Tower. He escaped from the Tower on the Octave of Easter, 1565. He returned from Spain to Ireland after a few months. In 1567 he was arrested in Connaught, brought to trial in Dublin, and acquitted. He was kept in prison however, and later taken to London and confined in the Tower, where he died October 14th, 1585.

² Ceti atrium. The name is not known in the Tower now.

in wealth or power, but in the aid given from heaven to those who rely on the testimony of a good conscience, those who love God and not the world; the love of which is unholy, whose favour is deceitful and fleeting, whose friendship is burthensome and full of guile. In a matter of such importance he thought he should not act in a slow or timid manner; and whereas poverty, hardship, and suffering are said to be the sisters of a pure mind, his soul was strengthened by them in constancy, fortitude, and liberty of spirit. His contempt of the things of the world and its vanities, and his noble courage to endure every hardship, grew and increased day by day. For he is not truly courageous whose courage does not grow in presence of difficulties. 'The faithful man,' says St. Bernard,¹ 'should grow in faith while suffering affliction.'

Nor did the Lord of Mercy, whose goodness exceeds our wishes, abandon His servant in his distress; for, by the example and guidance of a little bird, He released the prisoner from prison. Though the means seems trifling, we may learn from it much that is useful. For what is smaller than a plant of saffron covered with dew? What weaker than a little bird pruning its wings with its beak for flight? And yet, by the thought of the moist plant, He called away this youth, fixed on the earth, from the world, to be a soldier of the Cross and to the business of saving souls. So, too, by the flight of the little bird in and out, He taught him, while shut up in prison, how to escape from that labyrinth of Dædalus, surrounded by so many walls, secured by so many locks and bolts. So He roused Malchus² with the partner of his home and faith, by watching the ants, to make his escape successfully.

The Archbishop escaped then from the Tower, and in such a strange way as to astonish all who knew the place or were

¹ *Epist.* 256.

² One of the earliest hermits of Syria. St. Jerome has written his *Life*.

aware of the care taken in guarding the prisoners. Wherefore great and famous men in distant countries, who were acquainted with the prison in former times, were anxious to learn from the venerable Archbishop the true account of his escape from the claws of the lions. Among others, the illustrious Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell,¹ then living at Milan, hearing that after he had escaped from London he had gone to Louvain, wrote him the following letter, partly to congratulate him, partly to ask him how he had escaped:—

‘MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND LORD,—I was much grieved at learning that your Grace had been treacherously captured after you had reached Ireland, and had been shut up in the Tower of London. So, too, I was extremely glad when I heard that you had escaped, seemingly by a miracle, and had reached Louvain, and had been kindly received by our friend, Master Michael,² who, I am sure, was as glad at your coming as I was of your escape. When your Grace has leisure, you will do me a great favour if you will deign to write to me a detailed account of your escape. For when first I heard of it, it appeared to me so strange as to be like the dream which St. Peter had when the angel led him out of the prison. However that be, God be praised for deigning to protect His servant. I commend your Grace to God's protection, and I ask your prayers for myself. And since it is reported here that a certain English Father of the Society of Jesus³ accompanied your Grace into Ireland, there are some persons here anxious to know what has become of him. There dwells in this city a very pious man, an Irish Jesuit, named Maurice,⁴ who was greatly rejoiced at the news of your escape. I pray your most reverend Lordship to salute for me your host Master Michael. I bid your Grace farewell.

‘Your Lordship's unworthy brother and servant,

✠ THOMAS GOLDWELL,

‘Bishop of St. Asaph.

‘Milan, 20th June, 1565.’

¹ See his *Life* by Rev. F. Knox in the *Month*, 1886.

² Michael Banis, President of the College founded by Adrian VI.

³ F. Good. See pp. 95 and 109, *antea*.

⁴ Probably Charles MacMorris, mentioned at p. 139.

The reply which the Bishop got to his letter from the Primate has not come into my hands; but the account of his escape which he so earnestly asked for can be found in the letter of Father James Navarchus, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Florence Bonchort, of the same Society, which is among the Japanese letters printed at Louvain by Welfhius (p. 290), and it deserves all the more credit since the details were taken down exactly from the mouth of the Prelate himself. I have thought well to give it here, because it is worth insertion. It has been sought after by many who, perhaps, will not have an opportunity of seeing it in the book from which it is taken.

‘You will be glad, I am sure, if I set down briefly for you what was lately told me by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Armagh regarding his strange and truly marvellous escape from his prison in the Tower of London. As I thought it very like the deliverance of St. Peter which we read of in the *Acts of the Apostles*,¹ I asked him to give me the account of it in writing, for I was afraid I might omit something when relating it to others, and I obtained the favour from him, as he is a kindly man and most anxious to promote the glory of God. I believe these facts will bring no small consolation to those Catholics who are now persecuted everywhere, especially to such as are engaged in defending the faith with all their strength. Wherefore I make the fact known to excite faith and hope in our fellow-soldiers, that they may labour with still more zeal in our present distracted and almost desperate condition. Who thought that the Archbishop of Armagh could escape? I know that prayers were offered for him not only in the colleges of our Society, but also often by many others, not so much for his escape as that he might meet death with constancy; so that, imitating the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More,² some of whose family have entered our Society, he might animate and rouse others by his example. But God wished to make him useful to the persecuted Christians in a different way, as will be evident from the course of this narrative.

‘To begin then. He was sent from Rome, having received considerable gifts from Pope Pius, to rescue his flock in Ireland

¹ xi. 3-10.

² Cardinal Fisher was put to death June 22nd, 1535, and Sir Thomas More on July 5th following.

from the jaws of the fierce wolves and lions, and to guide them with zeal and piety. When he landed in that island, he said Mass in a certain monastery of his province. The soldiers under the command of the Governor of the neighbouring castle, whose duty it was to keep watch along that part of the coast, met the Bishop not far from the place where he had landed, and took him to the castle. There he was interrogated about the primacy of the Church by the Governor, and in reply he freely and openly professed the Catholic doctrine, and declared that he was a Christian. Among those who had come to be present at the examination was the Governor's brother, a very violent and determined man, who was so angry at the Bishop's firm opposition to heresy that he seemed to be driven mad, and he left nothing undone to have the matter brought under the notice of the Queen of England; moreover, he hoped, in return for the capture, to obtain not only great favour at Court but ample rewards, and he showed clearly that he was influenced more by the love of gain than by any concern for religion.

Our Primate then was taken, brought before the Queen, and more than once interrogated before the Court at Westminster.¹ When he had replied satisfactorily to all that was alleged against him, and, when occasion offered, had upheld with much modesty the grounds of our faith, he was led by two guards through almost the whole of the city of London, an object of derision and contempt to all for the faith of Christ. Then without any form of trial, without any sentence being pronounced, he was thrown into the deepest and darkest prison in the Tower. This happened on the very feast of St. Peter's Chair.² After a while he was allowed to come up to a larger and better lighted room, for some persons who had regard for justice and law because they had had some intercourse with virtuous people, thought it unjust that one who had given no grounds for being treated so, should be compelled to live in misery in such a narrow and dark place. Whilst the good and patient Primate was persecuted in this way, God, who consoles the afflicted, did not abandon him, for on the very feast of St. Peter's Chair he gave him a sure hope of deliverance and singular consolation of soul. He persevered in prayer, and on the third day after, which was a Sunday, he began to recite the prayers at Mass from memory with all the earnestness he could. A dreadful fear, so oppressive that he thought he was at the very point of death, had preceded this joy and consolation; while it lasted he recited for

¹ See *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 43.

² St. Peter's Chair at Rome, January 18th, or at Antioch, February 22nd.

himself the Office of the Dead, for he thought he was soon to offer up his life a sacrifice to Christ. Moreover, he was waiting for those who were to examine into his faith and manner of life, for he knew they were to come on the feast of St. Patrick, the patron of Ireland, and his first predecessor in the cathedral church of Armagh, and its founder. And as he had frequently experienced this Saint's aid, he sought it now with still more eagerness in his daily prayers. He was examined on this same day, and on the fourth following he learned from the Governor of the Tower that certain persons had been appointed to inquire into the question of his guilt, and that his own opinion was, that in all concerning the spiritual government in Ireland, obedience was due not to the Roman Pontiff but to the Queen of England, to whom all the churches of Ireland were subject. He should take heart; he need only abandon his traitorous notions—for so he called the Catholic faith—and receive his office at the hands of the Queen under promise to carry out her laws. When one person after another, again and again, made these representations to him, his invariable answer was, as became a Catholic bishop, that he would not depart even one hair's breadth from the laws of the Christian religion which he had learned from his forefathers. Five weeks had now gone by since he was imprisoned; it was within the octave of Easter, when, I know not why unless it was by divine inspiration, he began to think of making his escape. The way seems to have been suggested to him by a bird, which coming in through the chinks of his prison cell, pruned its wings, and spreading them out and flying round, invited him to seek the means of regaining his liberty. Wherefore, though he had little grounds for hope, he put his tunic and whatever else he had into a bundle and secretly prepared to fly. Nor was his hope vain, as the result proved afterwards; for the plan came from God, although He made it known to His servant only by obscure signs and bade him hope in a strange way against hope.

On the following night a great noise was heard in his room and all round it. The jailer came in a state of great anxiety and asked what the cause was of all the noise. The Bishop replied, as was the fact, for he had slept very soundly, that he had heard nothing, and had not made that noise or any disturbance; yet there were certain signs in his room that there had been some disturbance in the prison.

The night following he had many strange dreams. He thought that he had come out of the prison and escaped every kind of danger. On the third day the souls of the dead under different forms and shapes presented themselves to him in his sleep, and he

thought he recognized in particular the appearance and likeness of those to whom he had applied on the festival of Easter and the next day the indulgences generously granted to him by the Supreme Pontiff. The dream was at times interrupted; at the end the souls of the deceased for whom he had interceded came and led him out of the prison, as he thought. At early dawn he began to recite the canonical hours, forgetting the dream wholly; but he could not banish from his mind the secret impulse or thought that urged him to try and leave the prison. The subject returned to his mind so vividly and so continuously that he found it hard to banish it. He drove it away, however, again and again, thinking that it was nothing more than a distraction in the prayers he was saying which disturbed his peace. At last he could not but yield to the divine impulse, and he left the cell hastily. He examined the places near, and found them all unlocked and open, though they were before this strongly bolted and barred. He was astonished at this strange state of things. Returning to his room, he gave up all thought of flight, as he was afraid he should risk his life still more if he was retaken. Again he began to pray. But as he could not rest, and as the divine impulse urged him on strongly to fly, he went a second time to the door to examine it, and returning to his room, he besought God earnestly to give him courage and inspire him to do what would best promote His honour. When he had offered this short prayer, he took under his arm the bundle which through some presentiment he had already made up; he invoked God, the author of his flight, and setting aside all anxiety, he went out through the six gates. The passage was intricate and difficult, and he knew not how he was directed, for he had been brought into the prison by another gate. At length he reached the guard. They asked him whether he had a butt; this word was given them as a password, and had no meaning or object but, as is usual with soldiers, to detect strangers. As he did not understand what was said, he was silent; but one of them (and here we may see the power of God to whom it is easy to use whatever He pleases for His own glory) replied, in a joking way, that he carried his coat as a butt under his arm. He was then asked who he was; he answered with all truth, not without reflection, for he had often before called to mind that he was the servant of the servants of God, that he was the servant of a certain very important person who was in a more open part of the prison. While the guards pressed him to answer, and said they would take him before the judges in order to learn the truth, for they were afraid on account of the important duty entrusted to them, he remained unmoved, and declared he was ready to go

before anyone. And so God disposing everything pleasantly, he was allowed to go his way.

‘He wandered about in London in the midst of strangers for three days, and during that time he heard many speaking of the escape of the Archbishop, whom they described as having a white beard, which his was; but they were led astray by the double meaning of the word, which in their language means fair or grey, understanding it to mean grey from age. During these three days he frequently met the pursuivants also. Some of them addressed him, and asked who he was; but as he replied to them in French, they went their way, thinking he was a Frenchman. I will add also, what I have heard from trustworthy persons, that he was seen and recognised by the jailer; but this man felt himself overcome by such weakness that he could do nothing. At length he came to a ship, and was taken aboard as a stranger by the captain, who was a determined enemy of the Catholic faith. The pursuivants came soon after, and three times they interrogated the sailors on oath whether they knew anything of the Bishop, whom they described as grey-haired, and bearing a name not Irish (for they thought that he would not have given his name). The sailors questioned several on board the ship; however, they did not question the Archbishop, God so disposing; nor had they any suspicion that he was the Archbishop, who they heard was grey-headed; but seeing that he was a young man, and that he spoke French, they thought he was a Frenchman. In this way God baffled those who were on board the ship, all of them most determined enemies of the faith. He escaped out of their hands, and reached Brabant safe, though a reward of three hundred ducats was offered to whosoever would apprehend him. There he did not give himself up to ease or pleasure, but devoted himself earnestly to sacred meditation and intercourse with God, often returning thanks for the mercies which had been vouchsafed to him.¹

‘From this wonderful example of God’s protection we may see that there is nothing more solid or safe than God’s providence, and in this we must put all our trust. For he escaped solely by God’s aid and care; and he solemnly assured me that everything occurred as I have told it; and he did not wish it concealed, lest anyone should be punished on account of his escape. In this he imitated St. Stephen and Our Lord Himself.

‘I will add, what is well worth reflection, that it was about the feast of St. Patrick he was examined in Rome, when he was about to be chosen bishop. A year after, on the same feast, he was

¹ See also *Spir. Ossor.* l. 40.

called on in London in different ways to confess the faith of Christ. He escaped from prison, too, on the same day (a year after) that he was consecrated bishop. I wished to relate all this to you, and as it is written with his own hand, it is worthy of every credit. I send it and communicate it to you and to our brethren engaged in Christ's warfare, that they may mark God's concern for His own, seeing that he restored the bishop to the Catholics from the very hands of his enemies. When I saw him after his return (for I had seen him previously when on his way to Ireland, and found him to be a man of virtuous and kindly manners), yet I found him very different in appearance. There was some extraordinary holiness about him, and his virtue was so striking that many said God had given him wonderful powers and singular gifts to bring back his native country to its ancient piety; and there can be no doubt that this strange escape must have disturbed the Queen's mind, and been a great incentive to her to return to the Catholic faith, especially as she is said not to be very averse to it, were it not that she is led away by the evil advice and persuasion of certain persons. May she bear in mind that she is warned by this message from God to do better in future.¹

When he escaped from the prison in the Tower, as we have said, and while the whole city was filled with the news of his escape, he met by chance in the harbour a vessel about to sail for France. (When he had gone on board and bargained with the captain for his passage, he hid his breviary under some boards in the hold; and when the vessel was under way, and the sailors wished to ease her, and were moving the cargo about, one of them caught sight of the breviary; he took it up, opened it, and read it. He had a suspicion that the passenger was the person about whom there was so much talk and noise, and so many inquiries made in London. He pointed him out to his companions. All agreed to take him back to London to hand him over to the Council, hoping to be well rewarded. But the wind changed and carried them in the

¹ The date of this letter is October 1st, 1560. There is another account of Dr. Creagh's escape from the Tower, very probably written by himself, in *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 49.

opposite direction, and so he reached France and escaped their wicked plottings.

While waiting in Belgium for a ship by which he might return to Ireland, he was entertained by a certain priest, a stranger to him, who was supposed to have special grace given him for the relief of energumenes. He was called to exorcise a woman, and he was going through the prayers of the ritual, bidding the devil to depart from her, and threatening him unless he obeyed immediately, 'perchance,' said the ancient serpent, 'you threaten me, relying on the aid of that Irish Bishop whom you have in your house.' He was astonished, for he did not know before what an important person had sought shelter with him, and on his return home he told the Primate what he had done to the possessed woman and what the devil had said to him, and he besought him to pray for the poor woman when offering the sacrifice of the Mass. He promised to do so, and while celebrating Mass on the following day, he bethought him of his promise. During the whole time of the Mass the woman was much excited and agitated, and cried out that she was tormented, burnt, and persecuted by the Irish Bishop. In a very short time her pains came to an end, and she obtained relief. This the priest and others attributed to the prayers of the Bishop, who was present, though the woman was not aware of it; perhaps the devil prevented her from knowing it.

After he had escaped from prison he went to Spain, that he might breathe freely for a while among Catholics and prepare himself for a fresh combat. When his strength was somewhat restored, on an intimation received from the Holy See, he returned a second time to Ireland; and while striving to watch over the flock confided to his care, he was again seized¹ and brought before the Viceroy and Council

¹ April 30th, 1567.

in Dublin. There he was accused of high treason; he was declared to be a wicked wretch, a rogue, a perjurer, a violator of the laws, a contemner of the laws of the kingdom, who deserved any punishment and disgrace. The nominal charge against him was his connection with Shane O'Neill,¹ his real crime was his adhering to and maintaining the Papal authority.² Jurors were summoned to decide on his guilt, in accordance with the ancient custom. They were sworn before the royal tribunal, and having heard from the lips of the judge the heads of the charge brought against the accused, their duty was to weigh the matter carefully, and to give their decision on the facts. With great presence of mind and confidence in the justice of his case, he addressed the court fearlessly. He proved his innocence, and explained the circumstances of his capture and the manner of his escape. He declared that he was a Catholic, a bishop of the Catholic Church; that he had been convicted of no crime; that nothing wrong could be proved against him; that he had not broken out of prison, but had escaped, and had fled from his jailer; that without using any violence or harming any one he had come out of the prison wishing to save his life, a thing allowed by every law human and divine. They should weigh well the question at issue, the life or death of an innocent man. If they condemned an innocent person, they would be judged and punished by God. The life of his body was at stake; their immortal souls were in danger.

The law allows the accused to challenge a certain number of the jurors, and if he exceeds this number, he is condemned to what the laws style *peine forte et dure*, that is, to be crushed to death by a weight laid on him. He challenged several peremptorily and others showing cause, and through-

¹ See Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, 2nd series, p. 273.

² "Memorial for Ireland," *Spic. Omer.*, i. 43. His examination is given *ibid.*, p. 44.

out he acted with such wisdom and prudence that he omitted no just means of defence, nor did he transgress the limits set by law, a difficult thing in a matter so new to him and intricate.

The Judge, when charging the jury, leaned heavily on the accused, and urged, with many arguments, the heinous nature of his crime, in order that they might have less scruple about finding him guilty. When they had heard all the facts set forth and exaggerated, they withdrew to discuss the matter and to consult about the verdict they should give in. The discussion was long; and, as by law and custom it is laid down that the jurors cannot return to their homes until they agree to a verdict which the foreman will deliver, it happened that they were so divided in opinion some taking the side of the accused, and others being opposed to him, that they were shut up for several days without being able to come to a decision on the question. During this time a small allowance of bread and water was given them until they should agree to a verdict. It happened that the foreman of the jury, who was for the acquittal of the accused, was suffering from dysentery for a long time, and physicians are of opinion that nothing is more hurtful to a person in such a state than cold uncooked food; yet his courage supplied for the weakness of his body, and his health suffered no hurt thereby; nay, he was even more vigorous and free from the disease than before he was shut up. The jurors returned a verdict of 'not guilty;' but they were all cast into prison and fined.

After an imprisonment which lasted about six months, he again contrived to escape. In a letter which he wrote from the Tower of London to the Privy Council, he gives the reasons why he made his escape from the Dublin prison: 'My going away, I think no man would wonder that should know how I was dealt therein withal: first, in a hole where without candle there was no light in the world, and

with candle (when I had it), it was so filled with the smoke thereof (chiefly in summer), that had there not been a little hole in the next door to draw in breath with my mouth set upon it, I had been soon undone.¹

After an interval of time (I have not yet learned how long), Dr. Creagh returned a third time to Ireland, through anxiety for the welfare of his flock and in obedience to the wish of the Supreme Pontiff. A war was then raging in Ulster, the province in which the diocese of Armagh is situated. It had been begun by Shane O'Neill, then the most powerful chief of that province, against Queen Elizabeth; whether through a desire of ruling supreme there or under pretence of restoring the Catholic religion, I leave others to decide. However that be, this is certain, that the Primate and the chief did not agree on a great many matters. The cause of their differences was the Primate's dissatisfaction at the many hardships which O'Neill had inflicted on ecclesiastics, and at the violation of the privileges and immunities of the churches, for he had got hold of their property and lands, and, supported by his clansmen, he had used much violence towards themselves.² The injuries reached such a height, and the zeal and indignation of the Primate were so great, that when he saw that neither advice, nor kindness, nor threats were of any avail, he thought it was time for him to make use of his powers as pastor and to have recourse to censures. Wherefore he pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. O'Neill cared little; he resisted the judgment and contemned the command of his pastor; but he was soon punished for his contumacy, for all his plans and undertakings from that up to his death failed and ended badly, the judgment of God manifesting itself in this way.

¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46. It would seem that O'Neill wanted to have a foster-brother of his, who was Dean of Armagh, appointed Archbishop. See *Introductio* to Rothe's *Analecta*, pp. lxxi. and lxxxiii.

Meantime the Primate performed his episcopal duties with all possible zeal, both in that province and elsewhere¹ throughout Ireland, wherever an opportunity offered or necessity required. A reward of £40, a large sum in those days, was offered for his capture.

A third time he was treacherously seized by Myler Hussey, a follower of the Earl of Kildare, and surrendered by him on receiving a promise that the Archbishop's life would be spared.² A trustworthy priest asserted on oath that the spot in the province of Connaught where the wicked informer had seized him, was struck with barrenness and dried up, so that it produced neither grass, nor corn, nor any green plant, but that it was covered with moss, though all the place round was rich in grass and pasturage, produced corn in plenty, and was used for tillage and sowing. His captor, some say, was suddenly paralysed in the arm with which he seized the anointed of the Lord and cast him into prison, and all his family, a very numerous one, were stricken down by different mishaps and accidents, with the exception of the youngest son, to whom the Primate foretold the just judgment of God, and promised that he would pray to deliver him from such calamities as befell his father and brothers in punishment of their crimes, in order that the family might still continue to exist in his descendants, while the older branch died out.

Immediately after his capture he was sent to Dublin under a military escort. From Dublin he was ordered to be sent to London. There he was closely imprisoned in the Tower, and endured much suffering or rather a prolonged martyrdom. He had escaped from the Tower in the year of our Lord 1565, and after several years he was

¹ Special faculties were given him by the Holy See for the provinces of Armagh and Dublin.

² On December 22nd, 1567, Hussey petitioned the Privy Council to spare Creagh's life, urging that if faith were not kept, there was an end to all confidence in petitioner's oath and credit. Shirley, *Original Letters*, p. 324.

brought back to the same place, and died there October 14th, 1585.

Besides the troubles and annoyances which he underwent daily for many years, the hardships and vexations which he met with during the short time that he lived in his province and discharged the office of Primate, the labours and anxieties he endured while governing the flock entrusted to his care, and the other difficulties he had to contend with of necessity in that suffering and oppressed kingdom, in order to put his constancy still more to the test and to increase his merits, he had to bear the calumnies of strangers and the accusations of some of his own countrymen. The Bishop of Clogher,¹ having heard of the disputes and quarrels that had sprung up between the Primate and the chief, because of the censure he had incurred for his many excesses and offences against the jurisdiction and immunities of the Church, accused the Primate to the Court of Rome of having offended God grievously, of injuring religion, and of violating the laws of the Church. He forged letters purporting to be written by the Primate, which contained very horrible things and evil counsels, wholly foreign to his thoughts and position, and laid them before his Holiness and the College of Cardinals. But the signature of the letter, and the well known writing of the forger, revealed the plot of the accuser and the falsehood of the accusation. The accuser was called upon to answer for the calumny, but he fled: he abandoned the faith, went to England, and became an apostate. When the Primate was imprisoned in the Tower,

¹ Myler Magrath, who was Bishop of Down and Connor in 1567, when he apostatized. In 1571 he was appointed Archbishop of Cashel by Elizabeth. He died in 1621 at a very advanced age, having repented of his apostacy. See *Irish Eccl. Record* for 1884, p. 633, and *C.S.P.I.* (1588-1592), p. 419. It is not generally known that he renounced the faith only after enduring much suffering, such as the cutting of his ears, the slitting of his nose, in London, where he had been seized when on his way from Spain to Ireland. See O'Mollony's *Anatomicum Examen*, p. 571.

he was shameless enough to visit him, to speak to him, and to offer him, on behalf of the Queen and Privy Council, a high dignity, wealth, and honours, if he would follow good advice, renounce obedience to the Holy See, and take the oath asserting the Queen's Supremacy in the Church. But he repelled the unblushing apostate with words of indignation and bade him begone.

While in the Tower of London, he had to encounter still more wicked plots. They would have grieved his soul more and would have imprinted a fouler stain on his memory, if the outstretched arm of God did not restrain his accuser, and His all-powerful hand did not strengthen His servant in his straits and persecution. One of the jailers, named Wainright, accused him of having offered violence to his daughter. Some say she was a washerwoman, others a girl of tender years. The trial took place at Westminster. He was taken out of the prison, and obliged to undergo an examination before twelve jurors. His accusers poured forth all their united malice on him. Alone, without a friend, he declared he was innocent, and he disproved with such clearness the crimes laid to his charge, that the jurors pronounced him innocent in most distinct terms, and the bystanders openly declared he was pure and spotless. Even the very girl whom her wicked father had taught to accuse the Primate, declared that she had been suborned, and she revealed the plot. In this way, like another Athanasius, he confounded his enemies.¹

He was treated differently at different times while he was in prison, for sometimes his confinement was more rigorous, sometimes less severe. While he was allowed a little freedom, he delighted in bringing together and conversing with the priests² who were in prison with him and confined in

¹ See *Concert. Eccles. Cath.*, p. 141b.

² George Haydock, who suffered death at Tyburn in 1584, bequeathed his breviary to Dr. Creagh. See *Ibid.*, p. 138 and *Challoner's Memoirs*, i. 84.

the different cells and rooms; these he strove to assemble together and to treat with them of sacred subjects, just as the early Fathers used to bring the people together in the crypts, and caves, and sandpits of Rome. In these meetings conferences and discussions were held about controversies in matters of faith, the duties of Christians as regards justice, the patience, piety, zeal, and the perfection becoming a Catholic. These he presided over with gravity and authority, the rest listening to him attentively and asking for the solution of their doubts and awaiting patiently an answer.¹ Sometimes, too, he answered by secretaries, and gave decisions about moral questions, such as the open profession of the true faith, the avoiding of heresy, and taking no part in the ceremonies or meetings of heretics, the rejection of the heretical communion, and refusing to listen to dangerous sermons. For these and such like duties he had commissaries and agents in Ireland, especially while he was in prison in Dublin, to whom he delegated lawful powers; and by their means he was free from restraint, so to say. It is related, too, by a trustworthy witness, that while he was in the Tower of London, and confined so strictly that both his hands and feet were loaded with gyves, and suffering all this time from a very painful disease, as often as he thought necessary the gyves on his arms were so loosened that he could open the window and breathe more freely; he could pluck, too, the herbs that grew on the wall, extract their juice, and make from it a draught that relieved his suffering.² It has been truly said by the great Tertullian: 'He does not feel the chain on his feet, whose thoughts are in heaven'; so he did not feel his hands bound fast; for his mind was fixed on heavenly things.

An order, written and signed by the Privy Council, was

¹ Lynch, *De Præf. Hib.*, ii.

² He says 'he was almost eight years in irons, with one of his legs lost by the same.' *Spic. Ostor.*, i. 49. He passed nearly twenty years in prison.

issued to Owen Hopton, Knight, the Governor of the Tower, who is called Lieutenant, to bring Richard and the other priests imprisoned there to the Tower chapel to hear a heretical sermon. The Lieutenant spoke to him on the subject, to find out his thoughts and intentions. He was somewhat angered at such an unlawful thing being proposed to him, and declared he would not go, but would go willingly to be crucified or hanged, if the Queen commanded him. The Knight was very indignant at receiving such an answer, and ordered his pursuivants and servants to drag him by force, if necessary, to the chapel. This they did readily, and seated by his side, held him down among the audience. But when he heard the preacher in the pulpit haranguing and thundering against the followers of the Supreme Pontiff and all who professed the same faith as he, and uttering blasphemies against the Saints and their Queen, and spreading foul errors and lies among those who stood around, he interrupted the sermon and on the spot took the preacher to task. He was ordered to keep silent, though he was burning with zeal for the glory of God, and he could not hinder the sectaries who stood round from drowning his words. Afterwards they used great violence and so forced him to desist. Yet, soon after, in a few words, he adjured all who heard him not to believe the lying preacher, a cheat and a seducer of souls, and he declared before all that whosoever would hold by his lies and errors would perish for ever.

He was taken back to the prison, and as there was no hope of shaking his constancy in the faith, either because the Lieutenant and the jailers grew weary of the trouble and anxiety they had in guarding him, or grudged the expense of his support, or were ashamed of the failure of their repeated attempts to pervert him, or perhaps through malice and hatred of the Catholic religion, one Culligius, an under-warder of the Tower, put poison in some cheese,

and gave a mouthful of it to the venerable Prelate, knowing well it was a kind of food which he would accept readily. He, suspecting no harm, ate it, and presently felt great pains in his stomach. Then his throat swelled, and his whole body became affected. The next day he sent a boy with an account of his symptoms to a Catholic physician in the city named Arcious. When he learned the cause of the illness, he was roused to indignation, and he cast a bottle containing a lotion over the wall; he declared that the Bishop was poisoned, and that as the poison had already penetrated the vital parts, no human aid could be of any avail to him. Feeling himself growing worse, and bearing in mind his duty as a Christian, he had a confessor called in to him from a neighbouring chamber, F. Crighton, of the Society of Jesus, who was a prisoner there for the faith. Father Crighton heard his confession, gave him absolution, and did everything else that the shortness of time or the difficulty of their position allowed, and discharged every duty of fraternal charity towards the dying man. He yielded up his soul to his Creator October 14th, 1585.¹

A certain writer² of our own times speaking of this happy end and martyrdom, wrote this elegant eulogy of the martyr, which perhaps I should rather call his epitaph: 'Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, who spent the greater part of his life a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin and in the Tower of London, was killed by poison by a certain villain, notorious for his crimes, and quitting his prison of stone, he went to share the everlasting happiness of the blessed.'

Mr. Froude³ denies that he was poisoned in the Tower and says he died in exile. In addition to the authority of

¹ See Foley's *Records of the English Province S.J.*, vii. 181.

² Stanihurst, *Brevis Præmunitionis*, p. 28.

³ *H. of England*, x. 483.

Stanihurst, Rothe, O'Sullivan, and others quoted at the end of this sketch, we have that of the Propaganda, which, in the Rescript appointing his successor to the See of Armagh, bearing date July 1st, 1587, says, he died the preceding year in prison in England.¹ Stanihurst and White say he was poisoned by means of a cheese. Both style him a martyr. So too Lynch.²

While he was in Rome, he obtained from Gregory XIII. an annual subsidy for some Irish students to form the commencement of a college. Its first foundations were laid at Pont-à-Mousson, from which place several pious and learned men have come to us. He strove with great earnestness to found a mission of the Society of Jesus in Ireland; there exists a letter of his written in very affectionate terms to the Rev. F. Oliver Manare, the Visitor of the same Society, on this subject. Very probably too he is the Archbishop alluded to by Sander in the following passage: 'The Elizabethan prelates finding no duly consecrated bishop willing to impart episcopal ordination to them, importuned an Irish Archbishop, then a prisoner in London, to succour them in the straits they were in. They promised to set him at liberty and to reward him for his services if he would preside at their ordination. But the good man would not be persuaded to lay hallowed hands on heretics or take any part in the sins of others.'³

He wrote several works: the following are said to be the most important. *On the Origin of the Irish Language*, *Controversies on Faith against the Heretics*, these two in Latin; *An Irish Catechism*. Some of these still exist; others I fear have perished, unless perchance they are kept in the Tower of London, where his body is buried.

¹ Anno præterito in carceribus Angliæ defuncto. Brady's *Epis. Suc.*, i. 221.

² *Brevis Præmunitionis*, p. 28; *Apologia*, p. 43; *De Præsul. Hib.*, i. 90.

³ *De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, fol. 166; and Fitzsimon's *Britannomachia*, p. 320.

See also Bridgewater, Sander, Holing, Bozius, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Lynch, and Arsdekin.

1585 (?). FORTY CISTERCIANS OF ST. MARY'S, NENAY.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 450.)

THERE was formerly in the diocese of Limerick a celebrated monastery of the holy Order of Citeaux, situated on the river Maigue,¹ from which the monastery took its name. It was founded in a most generous way by Donald O'Brien, formerly Prince, or as others say, King of Limerick.² Here a large community of monks, under the gentle rule of the Mellifluous Doctor, Bernard, employed themselves profitably night and day praising God, till Henry VIII., King of England, begat Elizabeth, the active agent of the Prince of darkness. While she was on the throne, and, like her father, creating disorder everywhere throughout Ireland, she determined to put an end to the pious exercises of the monks of Nenay, so odious to the demons. The children of the holy Order of Citeaux refused to obey the unjust laws of that frantic woman. Wherefore her impious satellites made a sudden attack on the monastery, and slew at the same time forty monks and their abbot with spears and daggers, and cut off their heads, in the very church before the Blessed Sacrament. They awaited the attack calmly, and encouraged each other to contend bravely for the faith. This happened on August 14th; but I do not know the year.³

¹ This river rising in Milford, Co. Cork, passes through Croom, and Adare, and falls into the Shannon seven miles below Limerick. Hence the name of the monastery De Magio.

² Hartry says in 1151. *Triumphalia*, p. 192.

³ Bruodin inserts this sketch between 1585 and 1586.

Hartry adds: 'Very many grave authors whom the Chrysostom¹ of our Order cites, have given a very remarkable account of forty Cistercian monks in Ireland, who with their Abbot died for the Catholic Faith, and after their glorious death are commemorated: Concerning Ireland there is a constant tradition in reference to forty monks, martyrs, who suffered the death of the body by the swords of the impious on August 14th, and on the same day having had their heads miraculously restored to them they sang at vespers in the choir.'²

1586. MORROUGH O'BRIEN, BISHOP OF EMLY.

(From Lynch's *De Præsulibus Hib.*, ii. 495.)

HE belonged to a respectable family. His extensive knowledge of theology and Canon Law, as well as his great virtue, caused him to be much esteemed. On the 24th of January, 1567, he was appointed Bishop of Emly. He was one of those sent over in 1568 to the King of Spain and the Pope by the Earl of Desmond and his confederates in Munster, to implore their aid in saving this country and the Catholic religion from oppression. On the 26th March, 1578, Drury, president of Munster, wrote from Waterford to Walsingham, to inform him that a Liverpool vessel had brought from Calais some papistical vestments belonging to Morrough O'Brien, the pretended Bishop of Emly, who had landed at Galway.³ In 1584 he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle, resolved to allow his limbs to waste away in that most foul den rather than deny his faith. O'Mulrian, Bishop of Killaloe, writing to Cardinal De Como, October 29th, 1584, after speaking of the sufferings and

¹ S. Henriquez, the historian of the Order.

² *Triumphalia*, p. 243.

³ Brady's *Episc. Succession*, ii. 35.

heroism of Dermot O'Hurley, says: 'The Bishop of Emly, who is equally constant in the faith, is at present confined in the Dublin dungeons. They are now preparing for him too the leaden boots, and mean to apply the fiery ordeal, as they did with the Archbishop,¹ that thus, if possible, they may compel him to abandon his religion. He died in prison in Dublin, March 17th, 1586. The Processus presented to the Consistory for the appointment of his successor says: 'The See of Emly is vacant owing to the death of Morrough O'Brien, its last bishop, who died several years ago in the Dublin prisons for the faith.'² There is some doubt about the precise year of his death.³ We give above that set down by most writers.

See also Holing, Rothe, Copinger, Molanus, Mooney, and Bruodin.

1586. DONAGH O'MURHEELY (O'HURLEY), O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Synopsis*.)

HE was sacristan of the Convent of Irrelagh, now known under the name of Muckross,⁴ and hearing of the fury displayed by the English soldiers against other convents, he hid a portion of the church ornaments in a certain island in the neighbouring lake. When he returned with a companion to carry away the rest, they found the monastery

¹ *i.e.*, Dermot O'Hurley. See p. 138, *antea*.

² *Irish Ecc. Record*, i. 476.

³ Brady, *Epis. Succ.*, ii. 37.

⁴ Perrott, the Lord Deputy, in 1586, gave a list of the 'pledges' then in the Castle of Dublin. Among them is 'Mortagh McBrien, Bishop of Emly, for usurpation from Rome, committed to prison by Myler M'Grath, Archbishop of Cashel.' *C.S.P.I.* (1586-1588), p. 230.

⁵ The monastery of Oirbealach at Carniganchiull, at the eastern end of Lough Leine, was founded for Franciscan friars by McCarthy Mor, prince of Desmond (Donnell, son of Tadhg), and the chiefs of the country selected burial places for themselves in this monastery. Among these were O'Sullivan Mor, and the two O'Donoghues. *Annals F.M.*, ad. ann. 1340.

taken possession of by soldiers, and these stoned them almost to death. As soon as they recovered somewhat, they were asked where they had hidden the ornaments, and especially the chalices. As they would not tell, they were put to the torture, and the following night they rested in the Lord, in the year 1586.

1587. JOHN CORNELIUS, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*)

HE was ordained priest in the year 1581, and belonged to the convent of Askeaton. He was seized by ten English soldiers by order of Nicholas Malby.¹ These inflicted three or four great wounds on his head, and another soldier pierced him through with a sword. The martyr died, invoking the glorious name of Christ, in the year 1587.

See also Wadding.

1587. WALTER FERALL, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*)

HE was a priest of this same convent. He had been seized some time before, but escaped from his captors, owing to the carelessness of his guard. He was again seized, and hanged from the nearest tree with his own girdle in the same year as F. Cornelius.

See Wadding.

1588. TADHG O'BOYLE, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

HE was Guardian of the convent of Donegal,² and a cele-

¹ See p. 144, *antea*.

² Founded by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, chief of his tribe, for Franciscans, in 1474. See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 4.

brated preacher. When the English soldiers came there¹ he sent away the rest of the brethren to a place of security, intending to follow them later ; but he was prevented by the soldiers. He strove to gain them over by kindness, but he could not escape. As he was going out of the gate of the monastery, the first soldier who met him ran him through with a sword, and pierced his head to the brain with three mortal wounds. When he was slain in this way, and the soldiers had gone away with the plunder, the brethren returned and found F. Tadhg lying dead on the ground, his eyes piously raised to heaven, and his hands crossed on his breast, April 13th, 1588.

See also Rothe, Wadding, Bruodin, and Hueber.

1588. SIR PATRICK PLUNKETT, KNIGHT.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 456.)

HE was a native of Meath. Because he upheld the Catholic religion, he was hanged and quartered in Dublin. Wherefore, fighting bravely for Christ to the end, he obtained the martyr's crown, and an increase of honour of his most illustrious family. He suffered May 6th, 1588.

This is probably the same person who is called by Copinger Sir Patrick of the Anally.²

1588. PETER MILLER.

(*Ibid.*, p. 456.)

HE was a native of Wexford, and a Bachelor of Theology. Moved by charity towards the Catholics, he returned to

¹ The English who had taken possession of this monastery were driven from it by the young chief Hugh Roe O'Donnell, after his escape from Dublin Castle. See his *Life* by O'Clery, p. 356.

² *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 42.

Ireland from Spain. Hardly had he landed at Wexford when he was taken and examined, and being found constant in the faith, by order of the judge he was, after various tortures, hanged and quartered, October 4th, 1588.

See also Holing, Rothe, and Copinger.

1588. JOHN O'MOLLOY, CORNELIUS DOGHERTY, AND GEOFFREY FERALL, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 455.)

THESE three members of the Franciscan Order were famous preachers of the word of God, and much respected by all the leading men throughout Leinster, not merely for their illustrious descent, but for their extraordinary prudence, pious eloquence, great learning, rare modesty, and extreme humility. They fell, I know not how, into the nets of the heretics. Wherefore the supreme judge of Leinster, with his usual ferocity, vented his wrath on them. By his order they were first beaten with sticks, and then scourged with whips till the blood came ; and when even by this means they could not be diverted from the paths of justice, the wicked judge offered to them rich bishoprics if they would abjure papistry and obey the whims of Elizabeth. These brave men could not be induced to abandon the Catholic faith of their fathers. Wherefore they were hanged and quartered at Abbeyleix,¹ in Leinster, and so obtained the crown of martyrdom, December 15th, 1588.

See also Copinger, Ward, and Hueber.

1588. PETER MEYLER.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 391.)

HE was a student of humanities. He was seized by the

¹ There was a Cistercian house here, founded by one of the O'Mores. The sole remains of it is a tomb in Lord De Vesce's garden.

heretics, and because he remained firm in the faith, he suffered martyrdom, at Galway, in the year of our Lord 1588.

1590. MATTHEW O'LEYNE, O.S.F.

(From Hueber's *Martyrologium*, p. 644.)

WHEN the English soldiers rushed madly into the convent of Kilcrea,¹ on the river Bride, in Muskerry, they seized one of the brethren, Matthew O'Leayne, an aged priest, as he was striving to escape from them across the river, and cruelly pierced him through with their spears, March 6th, 1590.

See also Wadding and Ward.

1590. CHRISTOPHER ROCHE.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 457.)

HE was the son of a citizen of Wexford. When he had nearly completed his studies at Louvain, he was obliged, through ill health, to return home. He was arrested at Bristol, examined, and asked to take the oath of Supremacy. He absolutely refused to stain his soul with such a perjury. In consequence he was sent to London. First, he was flogged through the streets by the executioners in a very cruel manner. Then, after enduring the horrors of Newgate prison for four months, he was put to the torture of the scavenger's daughter,² and under it gave up his soul to God, December 13th, 1590.

See also Copinger.

¹ Founded by Cormac Laidher McCarthy, lord of Muskerry, in 1465. The castle of that branch of the McCarthys is close by.

² An instrument of torture invented by Skeffington, Lieutenant of the Tower in the time of Henry VIII., from whom it has its name. It was a circle of iron, in which the whole body was, as it were, folded up, and the hands, feet, and head bound together. See Challoner's *Memoirs*, i. 57.

1591. TERENCE MAGENNIS (?), MAGNUS
O'TODHRY, LOUGHLIN OGE MAC
O'CADHA, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

THESE were religious of the convent of Multyfarnham,¹ Co. Meath. In the year 1590 they were seized by English heretics, who were led on by Dudley Loftus² and Richard Greame. The first was sent to Dublin and put in prison there. The two others, old and decrepit, were cast into the prison of Ballyboy.³ All three died in prison the following year.

See also Wadding.

1593. EDMUND MAGAURAN, ARCHBISHOP OF
ARMAGH AND PRIMATE.

(From O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath. Hib.*, p. 158.)

OF his early life we know nothing. In 1581 he was appointed to the see of Ardagh. In 1587 he was transferred to the primatial see of Armagh.⁴ Six years after we find him in Ireland, having come from Spain in the vessel of James Fleming, a Drogheda merchant. He was commissioned by Pope Clement VIII. to exhort the Irish people to persevere steadily in the faith, and, if necessary, to shed their blood in defence of their religion; and by Philip II. of Spain, to assure them that he would send them speedy aid. He went to Hugh Maguire, who was then in arms, and urged him to continue his efforts. He took up his

¹ Founded by William Delamer in 1305. See Meehan's *Franc. Mon.*, p. 38.

² He was a son of Archbishop Loftus.

³ Near Frankfort, King's County.

⁴ See Brady, *Episc. Succession*, i. 221, 292.

residence with this chieftain at Enniskillen, and was treated by him with great respect and kindness.

Sir William Russell,¹ hearing of his arrival, sent a messenger in all haste to Maguire, bidding him in the Queen's name to deliver into his hands the Bishop, consecrated in a foreign country and belonging to another religion, who had lately landed in Ireland and had been received by him. This illustrious man was too religious to obey such an order; but knowing that he could not offer any resistance to the English where he was, he left his castle at Enniskillen, and taking the Archbishop with him, he retired with his forces to a place that was better fortified. After some time they were joined by Hugh O'Donnell, then in his twenty-first year, who had been seized by the English some years before by a trick, and confined in the Castle of Dublin for four years.² Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, sent William Guefert³ with a small body of troops to attack him. The armies met at a place called Sciath na bfeart,⁴ i.e., the shield of miracles. The cavalry of both was in the front, and advanced without any sound of trumpet. The day was very dark, owing to a thick fog, so that they were close to each other before they knew it. The signal was given, and both parties immediately began the combat. Maguire, who was always on the alert, caught sight of the General of the opposite side, and pierced him through with a lance; the cavalry immediately gave way and fled. During the fight the Primate was engaged in hearing the sacramental confession of a heretic, and reconciling him to the Church, and while so engaged he received a deadly wound from an heretical soldier.

There was some doubt about the precise date of his

¹ He was Lord Deputy from 1594 to 1597.

² See O'Clery's *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, p. 63.

³ Sir William Clifford.

⁴ Near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon.

death, whether it took place in 1593 or 1598. The date is now fixed by a letter of Sir Richard Bingham giving an account of his death to the Privy Council, dated June 28th, 1593.

See also Rothe, Copinger, Molanus, Ward, *Annals F. M.*, Lynch, Bruodin, Arsdekin, Porter, and Hueber.

1594. ANDREW STRICH.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 387.)

HE was a Limerick priest. He studied the sacred sciences in Paris, and then returned to Ireland to labour for the salvation of souls, and discharged that duty with great zeal for many years. At length he was seized by the heretics, taken to Dublin, and thrown into prison. He ended his life happily therein, about the year mentioned above.

Bruodin says he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle in 1594, with George Power and Bernard Moriarty, and died there.

See also Copinger, Molanus, and Bruodin.

1594. VENERABLE JOHN CORNELIUS (*alias* MOHUN),¹ S.J., VEN. TERENCE CAREY, AND VEN. PATRICK SALMON.²

(From Challoner's *Memoirs*,³ i. 168.)

JOHN CORNELIUS was born at Bodmin,⁴ in Cornwall of

¹ He is called McMahon, and Mahony by various writers.

² These are among the two hundred and sixty-one Venerable Servants of God put to death in England for the faith whose cause was allowed to be introduced in the S. Congregation of Rites by the decree of December, 1886.

³ From a MS. in Dr. C.'s possession, and from an account sent from England three months after Mr. C.'s death. (Challoner's note.)

⁴ The ship on which his parents were flying from the persecution of the English was driven by a storm into a Cornish port. Fitsimon says he always spoke of himself as an Irishman. See Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 458, and Hogan's *Ibernia Ignat.*, p. 33.

Irish parents, and brought up at school in the same town; from whence he was sent to Oxford by Sir John Arundel, who was much taken with his rare genius and diligence in learning. But Mr. Cornelius, liking the old religion better than the new, left Oxford and went beyond the seas to Rheims (the English college having been lately translated thither from Douay), and was there received by Dr. Allen,¹ the institutor and first president of that seminary of martyrs. After some stay here he was sent in 1580 to Rome, to finish his studies in the English college of that city, where he remained for some years. Here he was made priest, and from there was sent upon the English mission, where he laboured with great fruit for about ten years. He was a man of most mortified life and greatly addicted to prayer and contemplation, but, withal, zealous and diligent in his pastoral functions, and had a notable talent in preaching, so that he was admired and loved by all who knew him.

He was apprehended in the house² of the widow of Sir John Arundel, upon the information of a wicked servant, on the second Sunday after Easter, in April, 1594, by Mr. Trenchard,³ Sheriff of Dorsetshire, and with him Mr. Thomas Bosgrave, a Cornish gentleman, a kinsman of Sir John Arundel, was also hurried away to prison, because, seeing Mr. Cornelius in the hands of officers, hurried away without any hat, he clapped his own hat upon the confessor's head, saying: 'The honour I owe to your function may not suffer me to see you go bareheaded.' Upon which the Sheriff told him he should bear him company, and, as we shall see by and by, for this offence he afterwards also suffered with him. John, or as others call him Terence,

¹ Founder of the English Colleges of Douay, Rheims, and Rome. He was made a Cardinal in 1587. He died in 1594.

² In Chidock Castle, says Oliver. *Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Church in Devon*, p. 37.

³ Bruodin gives John Morton as his name. *Propug.*, p. 460.

Carey, and Patrick Salmon,¹ both natives of Dublin, and servants in the family were also committed to prison on this occasion, as aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius.

The confessor was first carried to the Sheriff's house, where some Protestant ministers strongly attacked him on the subject of religion; but Mr. Cornelius maintained the Catholic cause with such strong arguments that the Sheriff, fearing the influence his words would make upon those that were present, put a stop to the dispute. Shortly after, the Council being informed of all that had passed, the confessor was ordered to be sent up to London; where he was examined by the Lord Treasurer,² the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,³ and others of the Privy Council, who strove to extort out of him, first by words, and afterwards by the rack, the names of such Catholics as had harboured or relieved him; but his constancy was proof against all their efforts, and he refused to the last to make any discovery, which might redound to the prejudice of his benefactors.⁴ Upon this he was sent back into the country, there to take his trial, and there to die. The three last days before the assizes he spent wholly in prayer and in pious exhortations to his fellow prisoners, without eating, in a manner, or sleeping, and so prepared himself for his conflict. After this he was brought to the bar with his three companions, where they were all found guilty by the jury; Mr. Cornelius of high treason, for being a priest, and coming into this kingdom, and remaining here; Mr. Bosgrave and the other two, of felony, for aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius, knowing him to be a priest.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, the three

¹ Bruodin gives the names as Patrick O'Hogan, and John McConsidine, and says they were natives of Thomond. *Ibid.*, p. 461.

² William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

³ John Whitgift was Archbishop from 1583 to 1604.

⁴ Bruodin says it was then he was received into the Society of Jesus. *Propug.*, p. 461.

laymen cast themselves at the feet of Mr. Cornelius to crave his blessing; and they were all sent back to prison, sentence not being to be pronounced till the next day. They prepared themselves for it by prayer, and animated one another by pious colloquies, in which they passed that night; and on the following day they were all sentenced to die. It was observed that Judge Waimsley pronounced the sentence with tears in his eyes. Mr. Cornelius would have spoken to the judges after sentence was given, but was ordered to be silent. However, the judges assured them all that their lives would be saved if they would conform and go to the Protestant church; which they all stoutly refusing, were sent back to prison, there to prepare for their last end.

They were condemned on the 2nd of July, 1594, and on the 4th were carried out to their martyrdom.¹ Mr. Cornelius was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution; the other three walked on foot. The confessor animated them by the way to suffer death with courage and constancy; and, indeed, it appeared by their countenances that they went to the gallows with as much content and satisfaction as if they had been going to a feast. Mr. Cornelius made also the best use he could of his time in favour of a malefactor, who was to suffer with them; whom he so effectually exhorted to faith and repentance, that the man declared aloud he looked upon himself as happy that he was to die in such good company.

The first that was ordered up the ladder was John Carey, a man of great courage. He kissed the rope when it was put about his neck, saying, 'O precious collar'; then he made a profession of his faith, for which he declared he died; and so was turned off. The next was Patrick Salmon, a man much admired and beloved for his virtues. In dying

¹ At Dorchester.

he admonished the people, that the only way to secure their eternal welfare was to embrace that faith for which he and his companions laid down their lives. Mr. Bosgrave was called upon next, who being a man of reading, made a speech to the people of the certainty of the Catholic faith; which was heard with great attention, the ministers standing by and not offering a word in vindication of their religion.

And now it was come to Mr. Cornelius' turn to ascend the ladder; at the foot of which he knelt down, and prayed a little while; then kissed the ground, and afterwards the feet of his companions, who were still hanging; then addressing himself to the gallows, he saluted it with these words of St. Andrew: 'O bona crux, diu desiderata,' &c. O good Cross, a long time desired, &c. And going up the ladder, he offered thrice several times to speak to the people and was as often interrupted. Then he declared what had hitherto been kept a secret, viz., that he was admitted into the Society of Jesus in London by the Superior of the English Jesuits; and was to have gone over with others to make his noviciate in Flanders,¹ had he not been prevented by his apprehension. After which he prayed aloud for his persecutors, for the conversion of the Queen, and so was flung off the ladder, and shortly after cut down and quartered. His quarters were set up on four poles, but afterwards were taken down by the Catholics, and buried with the bodies of his companions. His head was nailed to the gallows, till it was removed at the desire of the town, apprehending the scourges of God upon them, as they had experienced before on the like occasion. Yet we are told that the following year a dreadful plague ensued among them, which carried off so many that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead.

¹ Foley, *Records of the English Province S.J.*, iv. 141, vii. 169, has some further details about him.

Mr. Cornelius and his companions suffered at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594. Bruodin gives July 3rd as the date.
See also Alegambe and Bruodin.

1596. BERNARD MORIARTY.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 74.)

HE was a priest of the diocese of Ardagh. He with the Bishop of Kilmore¹ and other religious were seized by Francis Shane,² in the monastery of Multyfarnham. On the way to Dublin he was set upon by heretics and shot in the thigh. When he reached there he was thrown into prison. As no surgeon would be allowed to treat the wound—a strange act of cruelty—he died of it, and so triumphed, in the year 1596.

See also Rothe, O'Sullivan, Ward, Wadding, Bruodin, and Porter.

1597. WALTER FERNAN.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 465.)

HE was a native of Leinster, a priest, and a zealous preacher. He was taken by the heretics and sent to Dublin, where he obtained a glorious victory for Christ. He was thrown into prison by order of the chief judge, an iron chain was bound round his body, his hands and feet were tied to a beam, and he was forced to stand for forty hours without sleep. He was flogged, and salt and vinegar were rubbed into his wounds by the executioners. Being

¹ Richard Brady, who was arrested three times, and twice paid a heavy fine for his release. On one occasion he was beaten and cast for dead into a brake of briars. He died in 1607 and was buried at Multyfarnham. See Brady's *Irish Reformation*, p. 68.

² This seems to have been Francis Rochford. *Ibid.*

then asked whether he would take the oath of Supremacy, he answered with great firmness, that he would rather die than swear that a woman, who St. Paul says should be silent in the church, was the Head of the Church. The fierce and blood-thirsty judge, Walter Raleigh by name, angry at this answer, ordered Fernan to be put to the torture of the rack. The executioners had not been long engaged in drawing asunder the limbs of this confessor of Christ, when he exclaimed, 'Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit,' and gave up his soul to his Creator March 12th, 1597.

See also Wadding.

1597. JOHN STEPHENS.

(*Ibid.*)

THIS priest was a native of Leinster. He was accused by the heretics of celebrating Mass.¹ He was hanged and quartered by order of the cruel tyrant Marshal Burrowes, and so deserved to obtain a martyr's crown September 4th, 1597.

See also Copinger and Wadding.

1599. JAMES DOWDALL.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 467.)

HE was a Drogheda merchant, and when returning from France to Ireland he was driven by contrary winds into a harbour in the south of England. The Mayor questioned him about the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth. Dowdall

¹ For that he said Mass to Teig MacHugh. Copinger.

answered, as a Catholic should, that he recognized no other as Head of the Church than the Roman Pontiff. Because he had spoken thus, his merchandise was confiscated, and he was taken to Exeter, his hands bound behind his back as if he were a robber. There after being put to the rack, he was hanged and his body was cut into four parts; and in this way, in return for temporal goods, this very wise merchant got in exchange eternal life. He suffered September 20th, 1600.

'This year' (1599), says Challoner,¹ 'I find two of the laity executed for religious matters, viz., Mr. John Lyon . . . and Mr. James Dowdal, an Irish merchant, native of Wexford, who for the same cause was hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Exeter, August 13, whose burial-place, says his countryman, John Mullan of Cork, is said to be illustrated with miracles to this day.'

Rev. Dr. Oliver, who obtained access to the official records of Devon, says:² 'The only victims I have met with in Devonshire are . . . and James Dowdal, an Irish merchant and a native of Wexford. For denying the Queen's spiritual supremacy he was thrown into Exeter gaol. When I examined the calendar of the prisoners in September, 1824, I found this minute at the autumn assizes of 1598: "Jacobus Dowdall remanet in gaola per mandatum Concilii Privati."³ At the following Lent assizes he is thus noticed: "Jacobus Dowdall remanet quia judicandus pro proditiōe."⁴ At the autumn assizes: "Jacobus Dowdall suspendatur, &c., pro proditiōe."⁵ His execution took place on the 13th of August, 1598.'

See also Rothe, Copinger, and Molanus.

¹ *Memoirs*, i. 198.

² See his *Collections*, p. 2.

³ J. D. remains in prison by order of the Privy Council.

⁴ J. D. remains because he is to be tried for high treason.

⁵ J. D. shall be hanged, &c., for high treason.

1599. GEORGE POWER, VICAR GENERAL OF OSSORY.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 71.)

THIS priest was a native of Kilkenny, and Vicar General of the diocese of Ossory. When old and decrepit, he was taken to Dublin by order of the Queen, to answer for professing the Catholic religion. In the public court he made open profession of the Catholic faith. He was thrown into prison and suffered much there. While a prisoner, he exchanged this life of woe for eternal bliss in the year 1599.

See also Rothe and Bruodin.

1600 (?) PATRICK O'HEA.¹

(*Ibid.*)

HE was a citizen of Wexford. Being an earnest supporter of the Catholic faith, he was denounced by spies not only for having given shelter to Catholic bishops and priests who were pursued, but also for conveying them to France and Spain. By order of Lord Grey, the Viceroy, he was taken to Dublin and imprisoned there, though he had already paid a very heavy fine. This excellent man, worn out by the filth and hardships of the prison, died in the Lord, December 4th, 1600.

1600. NICHOLAS YOUNG.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 387.)

HE was a priest from the village of Newtown, near Trim. This venerable old man, through hatred of his calling, was thrown into the prison of Dublin Castle, where, worn out with suffering and misery, he ended his life.

See also Molanus.

¹ Probably the same whom Rothe calls Haias, though the date of his death is set down by that writer as 1581. The facts related of both are the same.

1601. REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, BISHOP OF DERRY.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 467.)

HE was a native of Ulster and Bishop of Connor.¹ He was attacked at night in his own house by some English soldiers of the garrison of Lough Foyle, and with three other priests cruelly put to death. He was in his 90th year and in the 60th of his episcopate. A State Paper, dated July 28th, 1592, says:—

'In Ulster is one Redmundus O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, legate to the Pope and Custos Armaghnen, being one of the three Irish Bishops that were in the Council of Trent.² This Bishop used all manner of spiritual jurisdiction throughout all Ulster, consecrating churches, ordaining priests, confirming children, and giving all manner of dispensations, riding with pomp and company from place to place, as it was accustomed in Queen Mary's days.'³

The Annals of the Four Masters under the date 1601, says: 'Redmund O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, was killed in Oireacht Ui Chathain.'⁴ He was put to death on March 15th. The spot where he was slain is on the high road nearly midway between O'Kane's Castle and Dungiven.

See also Sander, Rothe, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Ward, Porter, and De Burgo.

1601. DONOUGH O'MOLLONY.

(Ibid.)

HE was born of a noble family, was a priest, and vicar

¹ This is a mistake. He was appointed Bishop of Killala in 1545, and transferred to Derry in 1569. See Brady's *Epis. Succ.*, ii. 173.

² The three Bishops were Donald M'Congail of Raphoe, Thomas O'Herlihy of Ross, and Eugene O'Hart of Achonry.

³ He received a faculty from the Pope to exercise a certain jurisdiction in Armagh during the Primate's absence. *Ibid.*

⁴ *I.e.*, O'Kane's territory, which included the present baronies of Tirkecran, Keenaght, and Dungiven, in Co. Derry.

of the diocese of Killaloe. This brave soldier and truly apostolic pastor did not fear to expose his life to danger when the wild beasts were laying the vineyard waste, opposing the heretics by word and deed. He was seized by the heretical soldiers in a certain part of Ormond which he was visiting as pastor, his hands were tied behind his back as if he were a robber, and he was led on foot to Dublin, in the midst of heretical soldiers who were as wicked as those who crucified Christ. It is easy to imagine what hardships he suffered on the way. I have often heard an account of them from my mother, Margaret Mollony, who was a near relative of the martyr, but for shortness' sake I omit them here.

On reaching Dublin he was cast into prison in the Castle, and the different instruments, the boots, the iron gloves, the rack, with which the English executioners used to torture the confessors of Christ, were set before his eyes. He was asked by the supreme judge whether he was ready to subscribe to the Queen's laws and decrees made about religion? O'Mollony, full of the spirit of God, answered boldly, that he was willing to obey these laws so far as they were in accord with the laws of God and the decisions of Christ's Vicar on earth. The judge, more unjust than Pilate, replied that the Queen in her own kingdom was the sole vicar of Christ and Head of the Church. 'You must accept her supremacy or suffer death.' Mollony answered, 'Either Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, xiv., and to Timothy, ii., and Jesus Christ himself in his Gospels have erred frequently, or the Queen is not Christ's Vicar.' 'Then you do not admit,' said the judge, 'that the Queen has, next after Christ, supreme authority in things spiritual?' O'Mollony replied: 'I cannot admit in any way the supremacy of a woman, for women are forbidden to speak in the Church. Moreover, in defence of the opposite doctrine I am ready to endure the

greatest torments and to lay down my life.' 'Very well,' said the judge; 'we shall see whether your deeds correspond with your words.'

About nine o'clock the next day the executioners put the iron gloves on his hands and the boots on his feet, and squeezed them so that the blood burst out. And as this torture failed, for Donough very often prayed to God, while it lasted, that with the aid of divine grace he might be found worthy to suffer such tortures for Christ's sake, he was placed on the rack for two hours, and drawn so that he was one span longer. All this time he was either praying or exhorting those who stood by to hold fast to that faith which is the sole way of salvation, and for which he did not hesitate to shed his blood and sacrifice his life. The executioners, moved even to tears by the patience and pious exhortations of the noble soldier, took him back to prison half-dead, by order of the wicked judge, where he died very piously a few hours after, April 24th, 1601.

See also Copinger.

1601. JOHN O'KELLY.

(*Ibid.*, p. 469.)

THIS priest was a native of Connaught, and of noble birth. Having overcome various torments in defence of the Catholic faith, broken down by the noisomeness and hardships of the prison in which he was confined in the company of robbers, he gave up his soul to God on May 15th, 1601.

1601. DONAGH O'CRONIN.

(O'Sullivan's *Decas Patric.*, fol. 164 b.)

I LEARNED the rudiments of the Christian religion from

him when I was a boy. At that time he was in Orders, though not a priest. He was hanged in Cork, and his entrails torn out and cast into the fire, in the year 1601.

1601 (?). DONOUGH O'FALVY.

(*Ibid.*)

THIS priest, after lying concealed for a long time, was seized by the English and hanged at Cork during the reign of Elizabeth, about the time of the second Geraldine war.

1602. DOMINIC COLLINS, S.J.

(From Tanner's *Soc. Jesu Militans*, p. 55.)

DOMINIC COLLINS,¹ a man who displayed heroic courage both when serving in the armies of the kings of this world in France and Spain and when combating under the banner of the Cross in the Society of Jesus, was born at Youghal, of noble and illustrious parents,² who were owners of a townland called Labranche.³ He was brought up very piously by his parents. When he reached manhood, he went to France, where, urged on by the generous ardour of youth, he resolved to adopt the profession of arms; induced to do so also by the thought that in the army of the Most Christian King he would be fighting rather for Christ than for the King, for France was at this time in the flames of civil war, which heresy, always productive of sedition, had enkindled. Dominic served for five years against these

¹ He is called also Cullen and O'Cullen.

² Among the mayors of Youghal in the 16th century there were four of the name of Collins. James 'Collen' and Thomas Copinger were members for Youghal in the parliament of 1585. Daniel O'Culan was one of those restored by name to their estates by Charles II.

³ Perhaps from Cremore (Craoimora), a townland 5 miles W. of Youghal, where some of the name resided up to a century ago.

sectaries who were bold enough to take up arms against the King and religion, and though only twenty-two years of age, he was much commended for his bravery and had the command of a company.

When that war came to an end, he went in search of other service, and passed into Spain, where he was taken into the Catholic army of King Philip, and given a position suited to his birth and merits. He spent eight years in the important office of captain of marines, in a time that might be called peaceful, for it was not disturbed by a war of any length, during which he was stationed at Corunna, a port of Galicia. But though he had no external enemy to combat, he found within himself another to contend with. Wherefore he employed the time of peace not for rest but for a spiritual combat. To the frequent use of the sacraments he added the reading of pious books and meditation, by which means he conceived a great hatred of himself, and he set about subduing his body by mortification; and as he continued this pious mode of life, he began by degrees to feel a desire to lead a life of still greater severity, and to view things of the other world in a different light. Nothing seemed to him high or exalted but what was of heaven; on the other hand, everything that fortune holds out to ambitious minds seemed to him only worthy of contempt. Having made up his mind then to enlist under the banner of Christ as his leader, he examined the Orders fighting for Him, to see in which of them he would enrol himself. First he was attracted by the mortified life of the Discalced Franciscans, and by the strict observance of the Order of Preachers throughout Spain; both these Orders, knowing his dispositions, would have conferred on him the Order of the priesthood. But having recommended the matter to God long and earnestly, and having weighed all the reasons carefully, he determined to enter the lowly Society of Jesus, and to ask admittance as a humble laybrother, as though

he was unworthy of the rank of a priest or unfit for it. He went to Compostella in a rich dress and surrounded by a large number of friends and servants suitable to his dignity and birth, and entered the noviciate there December 8th, 1598. All the Fathers thought he would not be able to undergo the duties and toil belonging to that condition, since he was more than thirty years of age, and all his life had been accustomed to every comfort that wealth could procure.

He soon put an end to the misgivings concerning him which he saw expressed on their countenances. Before he had ended his first probation and had changed his secular dress for the religious habit, an infectious disease of a very violent kind suddenly broke out in the college. For two months he attended the sick most diligently, and sought out the lowest and meanest duties with as much eagerness as he had formerly coveted rank and dignities. He passed through all the tests of the noviciate and made his religious vows on February 4th, 1601. The next year he was appointed to accompany Father James Archer,¹ who was to go with the fleet which the Catholic King was fitting out in aid of the Catholics of Ireland, under the command of Don Juan De Aguila. During the voyage he employed his zeal in caring both the bodies and souls of the sailors; attending on the sick night and day like a servant, and exhorting them to patience; urging on those who were in good health the practice of virtue, a horror of vice, and the use of the sacraments. Yet he did not allow himself to be wholly taken up or absorbed by these duties; but his soul was united with God just as if he was in the retirement of a college, and he continued his practices of mortification both on shipboard and when he landed in Ireland, as if he had no external labours to perform.

¹ See a sketch of his life in *Dist. Irishmen*, p. 311.

These voluntary mortifications prepared him, both soul and body, to meet the very great hardships and sufferings which he had to endure at the hands of the enemies of the faith. For soon after he landed at Dunboy Castle,¹ he was seized and put in chains by the heretics, contrary to the law of nations and in violation of their oath. For the besiegers had guaranteed the safety of all who defended the castle if they surrendered it, and had given a pledge, ratified by oath, into the hands of Dominic himself, who had proposed the terms of peace and was the messenger of the besieged. To have seized a Jesuit they supposed would save them from an indelible stain and from the crime of perjury. He was taken by a company of soldiers to Cork, his hands tied behind his back. There he was shut up in the common prison by order of Sir George Carew, the President of Munster,² a most bitter enemy of the Catholics.

He passed three months in this prison, awaiting the time of the assizes appointed for the trial of criminals, when he too was to be tried. Dominic would not appear in court in any other dress than the usual habit of the Society, in order that if any other reason for his seizure than his religion and faith was put forward, he might disprove it by his very dress.

Mountjoy,³ the Viceroy of Ireland, who was presiding at the assizes, strove to win him over by making him great promises if he would enter the Queen's service, even the chief command of a portion of the army. On the other hand, he threatened him with the greatest tortures, and even death, if he persevered in his resolution and refused to deny his faith and religion. His friends and relatives,

¹ On the northern shore of Bantry Bay, to the west of Bear Island. Carew's account of the siege and a plan of the castle are given in *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 574.

² President from the beginning of 1600 to the beginning of 1603.

³ Sir Charles Blount, who was Lord Deputy from 1599 to 1604.

too, asked and besought him, for his own and his sister's sake, to temporize, and not to bring destruction on himself and disgrace on an illustrious family, telling him he might remain a Catholic at heart, and conform only outwardly, to please the whim of the Queen. But Dominic remained firm against threats and promises, and disregarding both alike, said he could not in so criminal a matter obey their advice or commands; no matter what punishment they wished to inflict, however grievous the tortures they would employ, there was nothing that he was not ready to endure for God's sake. Nor did his deeds fall short of his words. Mountjoy sentenced him to be hanged and disembowelled, his constancy in the faith being set down as a crime of high treason. Dominic returned to the prison full of joy, and awaited the time of his deliverance with delight.

Mountjoy could not bear that this man full of God should enjoy such happiness, and in order that the days preceding his execution might be full of suffering, he ordered him to be put to the torture,¹ a thing contrary to all human and divine law. He bore the fiercest torments as if they were a delight to him, and he was thankful for them as if they were special favours from heaven. The heretics, angered and maddened thereat, hastened the moment of his death. On the last day of October, 1602, shewing no respect for the day which was Sunday, they led him out to the gallows,² his hands tied behind his back and a halter round his neck. When going out of the city³ he set before his mind the example of our Lord going from Jerusalem to Calvary, in order to bear these sufferings for Christ's sake as he ought,

¹ Jouvency says he was put to the torture repeatedly, 'cruciatus repetito.' *Hist. S.J.*, pt. v. p. 212.

² F. Field, S.J., says in a letter to the General of the Society, dated February 25th, 1603, that 'nearly all the inhabitants of the city followed him, shedding tears.' *Hib. Ignat.*, p. 110.

³ The author of *Pac. Hib.* says he suffered death at Youghal, p. 57. Other writers say at Cork.

and he walked along very modestly, his eyes fixed on heaven, his thoughts always intent on God. He saluted the gibbet with great affection, and when he came near it, he fell on his knees and kissed it, commending his sufferings to God. Then imitating the example of all the martyrs, he prayed for some time for his enemies, for the Queen, for the welfare of his native land, and with great alacrity and firmness he ascended the ladder. Standing on the topmost step, as if in a pulpit (for he was dressed in the ordinary habit of the Society), he began more zealously than ever before to exhort the Catholics to preserve the faith with constancy till death, to be on their guard against the threats and promises of the Queen, the wrath of her ministers, and the wiles of the heretics, and he concluded thus: 'Look up to heaven, and be not unworthy of your forefathers who boldly professed the faith. Do you too uphold it. In defence of it I offer up my life to-day.' These were the last words spoken by Dominic; they were most effective in encouraging the Catholics; uttered in that place and at that solemn moment by one of high birth who had shown contempt for worldly goods, they fell like a thunderbolt on the ears of the heretics. The officers perceiving this and fearing that the crowd might be still more confirmed in their hatred of heresy, ordered him to be thrown off the ladder. He was but a short time hanging on the gallows, and still breathing and his breast heaving, when the executioner, in punishment of his bold profession of the Catholic religion, cut open his body, and taking out his heart, held it up to the people uttering aloud the usual formula: 'Long live the Queen.' This last victim offered to God in Ireland preceded to the throne of God her who was guilty of so much innocent blood. The following night the Catholics gathered together his mangled limbs with great affection, and buried them in a chapel not far from the place where he suffered. 'In that chapel,' says



Execution of DOMINIC COLLINS, S.J., 31st October, A.D. 1602

Nieremberg, 'he is honoured by the veneration of the faithful, and as the Catholics affirm, he is glorified by God who works miracles there at his intercession'¹

See also Fitzsimon, Rothe, O'Sullivan, Molanus, *Imago S.J.*, Alegambe, Jouveney, and Nieremberg.

1602. FORTY PRIESTS.

(From O'Heyne's *Epilogus*, p. 18.)

IN 1602 forty priests of different religious Orders were put to death by drowning. This writer thus describes the manner of their death:

'Turn, reader, and listen to a horrid crime. In the year 1602, Elizabeth, the instrument of hell, falsely styled Queen of England, published a decree suppressing all the monasteries in Ireland and confiscating their property. The monks of the Orders of St. Benedict and of St. Bernard, and others,² presented a petition to her asking for a safe-conduct out of the kingdom. She consented readily, and ordered all to assemble in a certain island in the Shannon, called in Irish Inniscatha, in English Scatterry, fourteen leagues from Limerick. There were two aged Fathers of our Order,⁴ who were going out as agents to the Catholic Princes on behalf of Ireland, then in a state of ruin. Seven students, also of our Order, came there from the monasteries of Limerick and Kilmallock. One large ship of war was sent to transport them all. All went on board, and when they had reached the open sea, they were thrown overboard by order of that wicked woman. She imprisoned the

¹ In *Distinguished Irishmen*, p. 107. There is a letter written five months after his death by two Fathers, S.J., then on the Irish Mission, from Clonmel to F. Stephen White, S.J., giving a brief account of his death. He is styled a martyr by them. *Ibid.*

² The passage will be found also in *Hib. Dom.*, p. 559.

³ De Burgo says forty-two in all.

⁴ *i.e.*, Dominicans.

captain and all the sailors and soldiers belonging to that vessel, to show to the world that she was innocent of so shameful a crime. Privately she told them that they should make no mention of her in connection with the business, and she recompensed them with a part of the property of the monasteries left by those who were drowned in this sacrilegious manner.'

1606. BERNARD O'KEAROLAN.¹

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 472.)

HE was a Leinster priest, of noble family. The heretics accused him of having administered the sacraments according to the Roman rite, and without further process of law he was hanged and quartered on January 20th, 1606.

F. Holywood, S.J., in a letter dated May 6th, of the same year, gives some further details concerning him:—

'On Good Friday, the Marshal hanged by martial law a good priest named Bernard Kearolan, and this was done against the laws of the realm, which forbid any one to be hanged who was owner of £10, and F. Kearolan had property enough on which to live. The Marshal, who acted under instructions, offered him his life and liberty and a good living if he would turn Protestant.'²

See also Rothe, O'Sullivan, and Porter.

1606. EUGENE O'GALLAGHER AND BERNARD O'TREVIR, O.CIST.

(From Hartry's *Synopsis*, p. 259.)

IN the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Assaroe,³ in

¹ The name is latinized Coriolanus by O'Sullivan and Porter.

² See *Distinguished Irishmen*, p. 434.

³ The abbey is close to the town of Ballyshannon. It was founded in 1178 by O'Cannanan, chief of Tyrconnell.

the Co. Donegal, the Abbot, Eugene O'Gallagher, and Bernard O'Trevir, his Prior, and the other monks to the number of thirty, lived according to their rule, undisturbed from the first erection of the abbey till some years after the suppression of nearly all the other monasteries,¹ while the power of O'Neill and O'Donnell lasted. But when they fled across the sea the monks too were forced to fly, and when they died at Rome in 1609, the English took occasion to seize on their vast domains and possessions, threw down the monastery, and drove out the monks. The venerable Eugene O'Gallagher, who happened to be away from his monastery, was slain by the aforesaid enemies through hatred of the faith. So too, Bernard O'Trevir, one of his monks, when flying from his persecutors, was slain near the monastery in the year 1606, in the same year and month as the Abbot, but not on the same day, and entered heaven wearing a martyr's crown.

The author says he heard the account of the martyrdom of these two religious from a venerable priest, Richard Kelly, then in his seventy-sixth year.

See also Rothe, O'Sullivan, Henriquez, and Bruodin.

1607. NEAL O'BOYLE, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 499.)

HE was descended from a noble family in Ulster, and adorned the Order of St. Francis for many years by his strict observance of the rule and holiness of life. At last he was seized by the heretics in the county of Tyrone, scourged with whips, and hanged, in hatred of the Catholic faith, and in this way he obtained the crown of martyrdom, January 15th, 1607.

¹ See Introduction, p. 7.

² See Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*.

See also Rothe, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, Porter, and Hueber.

1607 (?). EUGENE MAC EGAN.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 73.)

HE was a Doctor of Theology, and Vicar Apostolic of the diocese of Ross.¹ This active and courageous labourer in promoting the cause of Catholicity, both by his prayers and his exhortations to others, received a wound from a body of armed heretics, who fell on him and left him for dead. His friends found him still breathing and almost expiring, and bore him off late in the evening to a neighbouring village. Both himself and the place where he was lying are said to have been lighted up throughout the whole of that night. They buried him with much honour in the neighbouring monastery of Timoleague,² belonging to the Order of St. Francis.

See also Rothe,³ O'Sullivan, and Porter.

1607. SIR JOHN BURKE.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 439.)

HE was of noble birth,⁴ and had inherited the extensive lordship of Brittas,⁵ in the county of Limerick, as well as

¹ O'Sullivan says he was Bishop elect of Ross. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 244. His name, however, is not given in Brady's *Ep. Succ.*

² Ten miles south of Bandon, on the western side of Courtmacsherry Bay. See Meehan's *Franc. Mon.*, p. 52. It was founded by the Barry family.

³ None of these writers gives the date of his death. Rothe places him between Patrick Locheran (1612) and Donagh Daly (1614).

⁴ The families of Brittas and Castleconnell were descended from Edmund na Feasoge, 4th son of Richard, Earl of Ulster, called the Red Earl. See Archdall's *Peerage*, i. 121.

⁵ Brittas castle is on the western bank of the Mulcair, 3 miles S. of Limerick.

other estates in the neighbourhood. His high position and great wealth induced Sir George Thornton to give to him in marriage his daughter Grace, who had been brought up with great care. After some children were born to them, a fancy took him to go and visit foreign countries, and Spain especially, either because he thought the passage thither easier, or that he supposed he would find that country more convenient to continue his travels from, or to dwell in, as he might determine on afterwards, for the comfort of his soul, the peace of his conscience, and the facility of practising the Catholic faith.¹ He had already witnessed what others had suffered at home, and he too had endured annoyances and hardships for religion, and he had heard from trustworthy persons of the splendour of the divine worship and the perfect liberty and perpetual peace which Catholics enjoyed in Spain, and how the people of that country had befriended his own, not only on account of their relationship by descent from a common stock,² but still more, because they professed and practised the same orthodox faith.

Whilst John, urged on by these reasons, was preparing as privately and secretly as he could for his journey, and getting letters of introduction, and putting together money for the purpose, one of his servants discovered his purpose, and wished to stop him. His father-in-law too, having heard some rumours of his intended journey, employed all his own authority and that of his colleague, Sir Charles Wilmot, for both of them had been appointed Commissioners, and were joined in the government of that province, to prevent him from leaving the country, and if he had not thought fit to deal gently with his son-in-law, he could have inflicted severe punishment on him for this bold attempt.

¹ He wished to make a pilgrimage extending over two years to Rome and St. James of Compostella. See *Pac. Hib.*, p. 686.

² The Milesians, who came from Spain to Ireland. See Keating's *H. of Ireland*, p. 125.

When his intention was found out, and he was hindered from leaving, he resumed with more zeal and freedom the pious manner of life which he had entered on long before among his neighbours and relatives. He heard Mass openly, and assisted at sermons with his neighbours, either at his own house whenever he could have a priest there, or in the nearest town, five miles off, when he had no other opportunity. Neither the length of the journey nor the inclemency of the weather, neither the heat of summer nor the rain or frost of winter, nor even the fierce persecution, could prevent him from taking part in the rites of religion. And as time went on, his piety and zeal for the Catholic religion reached such a point that he gave up the whole management of his property to his wife and other persons, and devoted himself to works of charity, especially to accompanying and escorting priests, and particularly those of the Order of St. Dominick, on their missionary work, and for this reason he was watched by the Protestants, and soon was much hated by them.

He passed his time in this way until the Viceroy Mountjoy came to Munster. At this very time Elizabeth died,¹ and the Catholics throughout Ireland, especially in the cities and towns,² were endeavouring to restore the public exercise of religion and the outward practice of the true faith, which hitherto they had carried on secretly and in retired places through fear of danger.

When the Viceroy was coming to Limerick, informers told him of Sir John's zeal and courage in beginning and carrying on that display. The charge in brief was that he had made himself the ringleader of the city in the rising and commotion, for so they called the zeal for religion which the citizens and townsmen had shown in the interval

¹ March 24th, 1603.

² See Introd., p. 12, *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), pp. 32 and 48, and *Cambr. Ever.*, iii. 523.

after the death of Elizabeth, when it was not quite certain what the intentions of her lawful successor King James were as to the religion he would adopt, whether he would follow the pious example of his mother¹ and ancestors, or the new doctrine introduced by his predecessor to the ruin of so many. As there was some doubt about the choice the King would make, and he was free to choose whatever side he pleased on account of the absolute power which he had, they thought they were at liberty to come forth from their hiding-places to display their zeal and love for the Catholic faith, and to practise their devotions publicly. If they appeared to be over zealous in this, and to have taken possession of some churches too hastily without waiting for the consent of the authorities, it arose from the fervour of their piety, not from any ill-will or wicked intention.

But everything was turned into a crime. The Viceroy listened most attentively to all the informers told him of the zeal and activity of Sir John in that business, and caused him on the spot to be imprisoned, and later on to be carried off to Dublin, in order that he might be guarded more securely within the walls of the Castle. Many interceded on his behalf to obtain his release, and offered to give bail or to be bound for him in any other way whatever. But all their entreaties were rejected up to the time that the contagious plague began to rage in Dublin, which afterwards spread through nearly the whole of Ireland. The chief magistrates, the Council, the judges and officials of the court, and the other public officers fled, each thinking only of his own safety till the violence of the plague should abate. When they had fled through terror, and several of the prisoners had died of the plague, almost all the others were set free; among these was Sir John.

¹ Mary, Queen of Scots, of whom Benedict XIV. says: 'If the true reason of her martyrdom is inquired into, perhaps nothing would be found wanting of what is required for true martyrdom.' *De Cau. SS.*, lib. iii. ch. 13.

While he was confined in prison, he spent all his time in exercises of piety, reciting the Little Office and the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, in pious meditation and the like, in which he was so absorbed that he did not think of himself, and seemed devoid of feeling, to such a degree that he did not heed the mice which were running about his bed and gnawing his bedclothes and pillow, and he did not feel them lying on his body. One night, after he had composed himself to sleep, having, as he thought, said the usual number of prayers which he had promised to say each day, he remembered that he had forgotten one or two short prayers which he had the habit of reciting. Immediately he got out of bed, and threw himself on his knees to say them. Suddenly a bright light shone round him, which afforded him much consolation, until he had finished the prayers and returned to his bed and fallen asleep.

When he was let out of prison and returned home, he advanced much in virtue and became more eager to attain to perfection. He sought the acquaintance of a certain religious of the Order of the Friars Preachers named Edmund Halaghan, and became very friendly and intimate with him. By him he was enrolled in the Confraternity of the Rosary,¹ then recently established. He observed the rules of that Confraternity very exactly, both as regards the recitation of the Rosary, the frequenting of the sacraments, the monthly confession and communion, the hearing of Mass, and the other practices; and so great did his fervour become, that his constant desire was to be in the society of ecclesiastics and to converse with them about pious and heavenly things.

The report of his piety spread throughout the whole neighbourhood and reached the ears of Henry Bronchard,

¹ Bruodin says Sir John was also a member of the Third Order of St. Francis.

President of Munster.¹ During the whole time he was President he persecuted the Catholics with all his might. Certain calumniators, through envy, urged him on, though of himself fierce and violent enough, to seize on Sir John. Lord Theobald Burke and Sir Edmund Walsh,² then sheriff of that part of Limerick, in their letters, accused Sir John of being a notorious harbourer and patron of popish priests and religious throughout the whole country. To prove this assertion, they added that he had erected an altar in his house as if it were a public oratory, to which crowds of people of both sexes used to come to mutter their prayers. It would be very invidious and painful to us to relate what happened to one of these informers, nor does it belong to us to foretell what will happen to the other or to both unless they repent in good time, for the future is uncertain, and the Most High is a patient rewarder.³

It is true that Sir John had erected an altar in the large banqueting-hall of his castle of Brittas, and, to give more freedom to all who came there, he made his family use another room. This he did in order that on the following Sunday, which was the first Sunday of October, there might be space enough and the place better fitted up for the crowd of sodalists who were to receive Holy Communion, for by the rule of the Confraternity they approached Holy Communion on the first Sunday of every month.

The President was informed of all these preparations by a trusty messenger, and he sent Captain Miller, with some of his own soldiers and a body of armed horse, to seize Sir John and John Clancy, his chaplain, who was the director

¹ He was President of Munster from June 1604 to June 1607. Lynch says he persecuted the Catholics as cruelly as Antiochus did the Jews, and died, like him, devoured by vermin. *Camb. Evers.*, iii. 101. See also letter of Dr. O'Kearney in the appendix to Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 432.

² He is said by Rothe to have been a cruel persecutor of Catholics. *Analecta*, p. 43, O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 333. The latter says he repented on his death-bed and died reconciled to the Catholic Church. *Ibid.*

³ Eccles. v. 4.

of the sodality, and to bring with him all the sacred ornaments. On the Sunday, at dawn, Captain Miller with his troop of horse set off for Brittas, and surrounded the house at the time that the priest was going to celebrate Mass in presence of a great crowd. The crowd fled in terror in different directions as soon as they heard the soldiers approaching. Sir John and the chaplain went with the sacred vessels into a strong tower attached to the house; with them were two servants, one retainer, and two women, who followed them in the confusion. The captain and his soldiers surrounded the tower, and asked to be admitted, promising that if he were allowed to enter and to speak to those within, no harm would be done them, nor any unfair advantage taken of any one. The only answer returned by Sir John was, that he might enter freely if he would prepare to make his confession and urge his companions to do the like; otherwise they should remain outside, for unbelievers should not have a share in what was holy, nor should sacred things be cast to dogs or pearls set before swine. For what agreement can there be between light and darkness, what communication between Christian and Belial, for without are dogs and sorcerers, unchaste, and murderers, and slaves of idols, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie.¹

Having given him this answer, Sir John bade the captain go away, for neither he nor the priest would put themselves in his power, or trust his promises. On the one side his mother, on the other his wife, urged him to give himself up, that he might not bring ruin on himself and on them; and rather to admit the King's servants, who do not carry the sword in vain. But he was deaf to their entreaties; he would not go out to them, nor would he allow them to enter. The sheriff being told of the disturbance, came from his house in all haste with a body of

¹ Apoc. xii. 15.

armed men. He uttered loud threats to terrify them, burned the houses of the village near the castle, and tried to set fire to the roof of the castle too; yet he could not make those within come out. When the siege had lasted a few days, Sir John gave arms to the two servants and the follower mentioned above, and taking the ornaments of the altar under his arm, lest they might fall into the hands of the heretics and be mocked at or profaned by them, with a shield on his left arm, a helmet on his head, and his sword in his right hand, he ordered the three men to follow him, and throwing open the door of the castle, he rushed out and ran towards the bank of the river. He had already sent away his chaplain to a place of safety. He told the servants where to meet him if they escaped unhurt. Crossing over the river by a weir, he reached the other bank, not however without making some noise. The guards, who were posted near to watch, heard it. They raised a shout, came together, and pursued the fugitive, while he, in order to run faster, hid the sacred burthen which he had carried under his arm in the brushwood and briars.

He evaded his pursuers, though he lost one or two of his companions, and reached a sea-port at some distance, safe, hoping, no doubt, to set sail from that place before the report of his flight spread or any knowledge could be had of the place where he had come to. Finding no ship, he withdrew to an inland town. Proclamations were issued to the different counties regarding him. He was betrayed by a woman at Carrick.¹ The Governor of the town seized him, and threw him into prison. While he was in prison, he was visited by his wife, who was about to give birth to a child. He urged on her most of all to adhere to the true faith, to serve God and be devout to His Blessed Mother,

¹ O'Sullivan says two women were burnt, one at Carrick, the other at Waterford, for having concealed him. *Hist. Cath.*, p. 270.

and to avoid all intercourse with heretics.¹ He had a great aversion to them, like Polycarp towards Marcion, whom he called the first-born of Satan, or John, who fled from the bath when Cerinthus came there; and that his wife might be better instructed in her duties, he gave her a letter to F. Edmund Halaghan, the director of the sodality (in which he had been enrolled long before), beseeching him to undertake the task of instructing her. Not to offend her husband, who was so zealous in all that concerned the faith, she set off, though ill-fitted to undertake such a long journey, and went from Carrick to Waterford in search of him, and not finding him there, she went on to Kilkenny at a very inclement time of the year, and gave him the letter from her husband. A troop of horse was sent to escort Sir John from Carrick by the President, who was then at Cork, and their captain was ordered to take him to Limerick, where the President was going to hold a gaol delivery a few days after.

Sir John so disliked all intercourse with the Protestant soldiers that he would not speak to them or salute them; and he would not address one word to them when he entered an inn on the way, or was taken out of the prison, or tied on the cart. Moreover, when he was on his trial in the public court, and many charges were made against him, and one especially that he had killed a soldier with a shot during the siege of his castle by the public authorities, he did not say a word, and like a lamb led to the slaughter, he did not open his mouth. The President, like Pilate, endeavoured to extract an answer from him, and declared openly that he did not desire his death or covet his property, but that he would treat him with every kindness if he obeyed the wish of the King in all that related to faith and religion; and when he refused and would not abandon

¹ The posthumous child became a nun in the Irish Dominican Convent in Lisbon, and died there in 1648. *Hib. Dom.*, p. 565.

the path of duty to God and the true faith in which he had been brought up, he was sentenced to death.

It is very remarkable that the two judges of the province whose duty it was to sentence him, through a feeling of religion, avoided doing so. Hence it happened by the positive order of the President, that the judge who presided at his trial was Dominic Sarsfield, the King's Procurator or Fiscal Advocate of the Province of Munster, the same who is now Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.¹ He, too, appeared to be sorry for presiding at this trial; he raised his eyes and he uttered a deep sigh, so that those who were looking on thought he felt stings of conscience.

But fearing to resist the President's authority, he discharged the office of judge, and asked the accused whether he would obey the King's wish and conform. He, bold and unmoved, answered aloud that he would acknowledge no king, no queen, who did not believe in Christ, the King of Heaven, and Christ's Mother, the Queen of Heaven; and whosoever would strive to turn him from the service of both, deserved neither obedience nor respect; and whosoever would act otherwise was not the servant of God, but the slave of the devil. We are here reminded of the words of the Martyr Genesius,² who, being urged by the persecutors to renounce Christ and obey the Emperor, replied: 'There is no king but Christ. If I am slain a thousand times for Him, you cannot banish Him from my life and heart.' Equally confident, Sir John wished to deliver himself from the importunity of the judge. In words like these the Apostle too said that God alone, immortal and invisible, was the King of Ages.³ So, too, Christ: 'No one is good but God alone';⁴ and He forebade anyone on earth to be

¹ He succeeded Sir Nicholas Walsh as Chief Justice, as a reward for his services and conformity in religion. He was supposed to have been a concealed papist. He died in 1663. *Flight of the Earls*, p. 199.

² His feast is on August 26th. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, ii. 320.

³ 1. Tim. i. 17.

⁴ Matt. xix. 27.

called father, since there is but one Father, who is in heaven. And when St. Francis was forced to give up all claim to his father's property, he cast off his coat and added, that in future he would say with more truth: 'Our Father, who art in heaven.' So, too, when Sir John was repeatedly asked to deny Christ and His Blessed Mother, and His spouse the Catholic Church, and he knew well that this was no part of the duty of a good judge or of a prince, he disobeyed one rather than the other, and chose heaven rather than earth.

Thereupon Sarsfield cried out that this was high treason, and he pronounced the sentence of death on the accused; that he should first be hanged, then his head cut off, and his body divided into four parts. He listened to the sentence with a cheerful countenance, and only answered that he was glad those who harmed his body in such a way had no power over his soul. He added a few words in which he declared his aversion to heretical doctrines, and his heartfelt desire to obey the Holy See, in whose communion he declared he wished to die.

He was carried in a cart to the place of execution outside the city. When coming near the place, he asked to be set down, in order that he might approach it on his knees, and this was allowed him. He commended himself to the saints with wonderful devotion and love, and showed as much contentment and joy as if he was going to a sumptuous feast. In all truth we may say, that he was about to feast where Christ was ministering and girding Himself, that He might make those sit down in the kingdom of the Father who would not bend their knees before Baal, but would rather offend the presidents, princes, and judges of this world than disobey the Supreme Judge of the world to come, by whom judges too will be judged, and kings, if they do wrong, will be punished here or hereafter;

¹ Matt. xxiii. 9.

one day judges another; but the last decides all. He was offered pardon, restitution of his lands, and preferment, if he would take the oath of Supremacy and go to church. He said that he would not for all the world offend God, he would not exchange heaven for earth, and that he renounced and abominated all that the Catholic Church repudiated and condemned.¹

When Sir John was hanged and had breathed his last, some noblemen, among them Sir Thomas Browne,² petitioned the President that when his body was taken down from the gallows, it might not be cut limb from limb. This favour they obtained, and his friends and relatives carried it into the city and buried it in St. John's church about December 20th in the year, 1607.

See also Molanus, O'Daly, Bruodin, and Hueber. The third of these writers gives the *Life* of Sir John in still greater detail than Rothe.

1607 (P) ROBERT LALOR.

HE was Vicar General of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns, 'a good and pious man, who has great influence in the ecclesiastical concerns of this kingdom.'³ His capture is thus spoken of in a letter of Chichester to the Earl of Salisbury, of February 26th, 1606: 'They have taken one Lawler, a priest, whose name is well known to the Lord Lieutenant. They got him by the endeavour of Sir Oliver Lambert, who set his lieutenant, who was then one of their provost marshals, to watch him, and he was quietly taken, with some papers, and divers popish trinkets. He is a notable seducer of the people and

¹ Letter of F. Holywood, S.J., in Hogan's *Dist. Irishmen*, p. 438.

² Of Hospital, Co. Limerick. He got the preceptory of Any, Co. Limerick, in 1604 from the Crown. See Archdall's *Peerage*, vii. 52.

³ Letter of F. Holywood, S.J., in *Dist. Irishmen*, p. 171.

called himself Vicar General of Dublin and Kildare, and so reputed throughout Leinster.¹ On March 7th, the Lord Deputy² wrote to the English Privy Council from Dublin: 'On the 26th of last month, by intelligence from Oliver Lambert, there was apprehended by him in this city, one Robert Lalor, a priest, and a dangerous instrument for these many years, who by his own confession acknowledges that he has for the last twelve years occupied the place of Vicar General in the three principal dioceses of the Pale, to wit, Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns; first, by a commission from two Popish bishops and Bishop Cranagh,³ authorized by Bulls from Rome, and since by a like confirmation to him by Mathias de la Vega,⁴ a Spaniard, who came to Kinsale with Don John,⁵ and who after the composition made at Kinsale, sent a commission by Don Pedro under his hand and seal to the said Lalor, which he now confesseth he received. They now in examination of him.'⁶

He was indicted under the 2 Eliz. c. i., for advancing and upholding foreign jurisdiction within this realm. If we are to believe Cox, 'he humbled himself to the Court, and voluntary and upon oath made a recognition,—1. That he was not lawful Vicar General in the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns. 2. He doth acknowledge King James to be his supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil. 3. That all bishops ordained by the King's authority within any of his dominions are lawful bishops. 4. He professeth himself willing to obey the King as in all his lawful commandments, either concerning his function of priesthood or any other duty belonging to a good subject.'

¹ *C.S.P.I.* (1603-1606), p. 406.

² Sir Arthur Chichester.

³ Dermot Creagh, appointed Bishop of Cork and Cloyne in 1580. The date of his death is uncertain. See Brady's *Epis. Succ.*, ii. 90.

⁴ Matthew de Oviedo, Archbishop of Dublin from 1600 to 1609. See Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 193.

⁵ The commander of the Spanish forces which came to assist the Irish in 1601.

⁶ *C.S.P.I.* (1606-1608), p. 416.

'Upon this confession,' says Cox, 'he was indulged with more liberty and the free access of his friends, and would undoubtedly have been enlarged the next term if he had not privately denied what he had publicly done, protesting that his confession did not extend to the King's authority in spiritual causes but in temporal only. And this being told the Lord Deputy, it was resolved to try him upon the statute of præmunire.'¹

In the trial, Sir John Davis urged that this law was made in ancient times by Catholics. 'Now, Master Lalor,' he triumphantly asks, 'what think you of such things? Did you believe that such laws were made against the Pope, 200, 250, 300 years since? Of what religion think you were the propounders and enactors of these laws? Were they good Catholics? Or good subjects? They were Papists as well as you, but they thought it a good point of religion to be good subjects and to honour their King.'² Upon this indictment he was tried and found guilty, and Mr. Justice Sarsfield pronounced the sentence of the law against him.

On July 1st, 1607, Sir John Davis wrote to Salisbury: 'Touching the attainder of Lalor, it was the first judgment in the case of præmunire that can be found among the records of the Kingdom. And as he was convicted by clear evidence in the opinion of all the hearers, whereof the greater number were partial on his part, so it has bred no small terrors, not only to the other priests and Jesuits, who before ranged up and down the kingdom with much boldness and security, notwithstanding the proclamation, but also to divers gentlemen of the Pale who have been maintainers and abettors of this priest in his usurped jurisdiction, whereby they have also incurred the danger of præmunire, for it appeared upon the evidence given against the priest,

¹ *Hib. Angl.*, ii. 11.

² See preface to *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. lxxv.

that sundry gentlemen had taken from him sundry dispensations. . . . Besides, this priest had obtained such credit and trust among them that he was feoffee of trust to divers lords and gentlemen of all their lands of inheritance, all which are forfeited to the Crown by his attainder. Among the rest, he is feoffee of the greatest part of the lands of the Earldom of Kildare and the barony of Delvyn.¹ On April 23rd, the Deputy and Council wrote to the Lords of the Council, that 'they had advertized them in their last of the apprehension of one Lalor, a priest. They could not then write anything more particularly of him, but having twice since examined him, they find by his own confession that he hath incurred the old statute of præmunire, and of the first offence of the statute of the second of the late Queen in this kingdom.'²

Cox says that he did not hear that the sentence was ever executed on him.³ His name is not given in Rothe's *Catalogue of Martyrs*. He was a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin on November 12th, 1606.⁴ Most probably he was confined there till his death, for there is no further mention of him in the State Papers.

1608. DONOUGH AND JOHN OLVIN,⁵ O.P.

(From De Burgo's *Hib. Dom.*, p. 559.)

AMONG our Irish martyrs assuredly these may well claim the first place. They are spoken of at length in the work bearing the title: *Palma Fidei Ordinis Prædicatorum*,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

² *Ibid.*, p. 448.

³ *Hib. Angl.*, ii. 11.

⁴ *C.S.P.I.* (1606-1608), p. 18.

⁵ Or O'Laighen.

composed by the Rev. Father B. Peter Malphæus, O.P., prior of Brussels; viz.:

1. Donough, alias William, Olvin, prior of the convent of Derry¹ in Ulster; he was hanged, with many secular priests, in the square of the said city, and quartered, by the English heretics in the year 1608.²

2. The brother of the Prior; he too was a religious of the Order of Preachers, and was hanged some time before the Prior suffered, in the same city, because he professed the Catholic faith, as we read in the said Malphæus.

See also O'Sullivan, Molanus, O'Daly, and Porter.

1609. PATRICK O'DERRY, O.S.F.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 71.)

HE was a priest of great age and venerable appearance. He was hanged at Lifford, in the territory of the most illustrious Earl of Tyrconnell. He was cut down while still breathing, disembowelled, and quartered by the heretics hardened in their cruelty, and in this way he triumphed as a martyr, in 1609.

Possibly this is one of the priests of whom F. Holywood, S.J., wrote in 1609: 'A priest was put to death in Dublin, and another in the north.'³

See also Rothe, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, and Porter.

1609. DONOUGH MACREDY,⁴ O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 154.)

HE was a priest, and because he had spread the Catholic

¹ Founded by O'Donnell, chief of his clan, in 1244. *Hib. Dom.*, p. 281.

² There is some uncertainty about the date. The above is that given in *Hib. Dom.*, p. 559.

³ *Distinguished Irishmen*, p. 462.

⁴ Another of similar name will be found at p. 125, *antea*. Clearly they are two distinct persons; one was a Franciscan, the other a parish priest. The manner of their death is different too.

faith with all his might throughout every province of Ireland, then convulsed with war, he was seized through hatred of the faith, and torn to pieces by means of four wild horses, and so he ended his life, to be followed by a triumphant entrance into eternal bliss, in the year 1609.

See also Rothe, Copinger, O'Sullivan, and Ward.

1610. JOHN LUNE.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 673.)

THIS pious and zealous priest was a native of Wexford. At the risk of his life he used to comfort the flock confided to his care, and encourage them to persevere in the profession of the faith of their fathers, at a time when the heretics were persecuting the Catholics cruelly. Wherefore he was seized by them, and hanged and quartered in Dublin November 12th, 1610.

CORNELIUS O'DEVANY, BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR,¹ AND PATRICK O'LOCHRAN, O.S.F.

(From Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 456, and O'Sullivan's *Cath. Hist.*, p. 298.)

CORNELIUS O'DEVANY was born in 1533. He belonged to a respectable family in Ulster. Of his early life we know little or nothing. Before he reached his twentieth year he entered the Order of St. Francis, and soon attained to a high degree of learning and piety. He was courteous, kindly, and eloquent. When he went to Rome we do not know; but while there, his singular gifts and great virtues

¹ These two sees were united in 1451, and have continued so ever since. See O'Laverty's *Diocese of Down and Connor*, v. 210.

attracted the notice of Pope Gregory XIII., and on the 18th of April, 1582, he was appointed to succeed Donough O'Gallagher as Bishop of the united Sees of Down and Connor. He was consecrated on the feast of the Purification in the following year. He returned to his native country soon after.

The time when he entered on his office was very disastrous to Ireland, since the Anglican heresy was growing more fierce and cruel there day by day. Yet in the midst of danger he discharged the duties of his office as a good pastor should, preaching the gospel, administering the sacraments, strengthening his flock in the true faith. He was one of the prelates who in 1587 met in the diocese of Clogher, and there solemnly promulgated the decrees of the Council of Trent before a great number of the clergy.

? Five years after, he was taken and imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin. Fitzwilliam, then Lord Deputy, wrote to the English Prime Minister, Burghley, from Dublin, October 26th, 1588: 'There is a prisoner in the Castle, one Cornelius, Bishop of Down and Connor, who having lately escaped, had, upon his apprehension, found upon him a commission, the copy whereof your Lordship shall receive enclosed, from the Bishop of Derry, authorising him as the Vice-Primate to grant pardons and indulgences, who albeit a most pestilent and dangerous member and fit to be cut off, yet being informed that we cannot here otherwise proceed against him than in the course of præmunire, I humbly beseech your lordship's directions and assistance for some other means whereby we may be rid of such an obstinate enemy to God and so rank a traitor to her Majesty, as no doubt he is.' The commission of which the Deputy speaks was merely a document¹ in which the Most Rev. Redmond O'Gallagher,² Bishop of Derry and Vice-Primate during the

¹ It is given in Moran's *Introd. to Rothe's Anallecta*, xcvi.

² He too was a martyr. See p. 210, *antea*.

vacancy of the primatial See of Armagh, gave certain faculties, chiefly concerning confession, to O'Devany for a year. We do not know what answer the Prime Minister gave.

For the three years that followed he remained a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin. It is almost incredible what hardships he endured during that time. He would have died of hunger and thirst if necessity did not teach him how to obtain some relief. There were at this time some other persons confined in the Castle for civil offences. They were supplied, if not with good food, at least plentifully at their own expense. They were only one storey from him. He was above, and they were below. He could even hear the sound of their voices, but he could not see them. On searching carefully for some hole or chink through which he could make known his wants to those who dwelt beneath, he found that one of the boards had been broken, and that the piece inserted did not fit the break closely. Through this opening he spoke to them. They were very willing to succour him in his need, but they had little to give. However, they offered him some bits of bread and a little beer. He made a rope of some parts of his clothes, and letting it down through the hole, he drew up at one time some sour bread, at another some insipid beer. With delicacies like these he prolonged his life during the three years.

On the 11th of November, 1590, he petitioned to be set free, on the ground that he had been imprisoned solely for matters of religion, and that he was now starving for want of food, and he added the promise that he would be found in all things a liege subject of her Majesty. The petition was referred by the Deputy 'to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Primate, and the Lord of Meath,¹ to consider of it, and to take such order therein as to them shall be thought meet.' After mature consideration they gave orders that

¹ *i.e.*, Adam Loftus, John Lancaster, and Thomas Jones.

he should be set free, 'forasmuch as the said Conogher is sworn on his corporal oath to behave himself as becometh a dutiful subject, and is also bound with sureties to appear before her Majesty's Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, when he shall be thereunto admonished.' He should pay fees and duties, too, to 'John Mapleston, gentleman, constable of her Majesty's Castle of Dublin'; and give bonds and sureties for the sum of twenty pounds, 'or so much thereof as shall be justly proved by him due, to the wife of Stephen Segar,' a debt which he utterly denied to be due.

He was set free after an imprisonment that lasted three years,¹ God's wisdom so disposing that he might employ his bodily liberty to bring freedom to the souls of many. Only a short time elapsed when the Queen's ministers repented of what they had done, and tried every art and means to get him again into their power. But as the bird which has once escaped from the snare suspects everything and is full of fear, and avoids every dangerous spot lest it may again fall into the net from which it has escaped, so he proceeded carefully and cautiously, lest he might again through inadvertence fall into the same pit. But when he perceived that this concern for his own safety interfered a good deal with his sacred duties, henceforth he thought more of the salvation of others than of his own security. At length, after several years, he fell again into the hands of those who thought they would do great service to the King by apprehending him.

He was seized in the month of June, 1611, while employed in settling disputes and confirming the soldiers of Christ. The priest Patrick was seized the same month in the port of Cork, having just returned from Belgium. He confessed—what the Provincial Council had learned—that

¹ Bruodin says he was exchanged for Sir Thomas Smith and Nicholas Bagnol, who were prisoners in the hands of the Irish. *Propug.*, p. 498.

he had been the companion in their travels and had administered the rites of the Church to those exiled lords, whom fear for their own safety or their love of religion had made to fly from their lordships and wide domains. They were both taken to Dublin. The priest was thrown into the vilest dungeon; the Bishop was kept in custody in the Castle.¹

O'Devany was brought to trial on the 28th of January following. The charge against him was that in the last war, which the Earl of Tyrone² had stirred up, he had joined the side of the Earl, contrary to the obedience which he owed to the Sovereign, and was consequently guilty of high treason and treachery towards his native country, and all the more because he had aided the Earl by his advice and help when he fled with his friends. He strove to reply with good reasons to the chief heads of the accusation. To the first he answered, that he was consecrated bishop and marked with the episcopal character; that this high office was laid on him that he might discharge the duties of it conscientiously, and labour with due zeal to save the souls confided to his care, and as his See of Down and Connor lay in that part of Ulster which Earl Hugh held by force of arms and ruled over, it was his office, as best he could, to direct all classes of people in the way of salvation; that as for warlike concerns and the grounds for the war, he had no wish nor did it belong to him to engage in such matters. Besides, if he had given any opinion to the Earl contrary to his own, he would not have restrained himself or given him any heed. As far as he could, both by word and deed, he had deterred everyone from vice and crime, and exhorted

¹ At this time Rothe addressed his 'Epistola Parænetica,' or letter of exhortation, to O'Devany and the others of the Irish people prisoners for the Catholic faith.—See *Analecta*, p. 289.

² Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell had carried on war against the English from 1592 to 1602, when they were defeated at Kinsale. O'Donnell went to Spain, where he died soon after of poison. O'Neill surrendered to the Government.

them to put in practice Catholic doctrine. If he attended to that duty, if he watched and toiled and by every means in his power promoted virtue, he was not afraid or ashamed, nor did he dread that it should be brought as a charge against him. But if all this was reckoned criminal now, owing to the corruption of the times, he could well defend himself by the fact that when King James, who loved peace, ascended the throne, wishing to extend his clemency to all his subjects, he declared publicly, by the voice of the herald and by open proclamation,¹ that all crimes and offences previously committed were to be forgotten. He had, therefore, two grounds of defence: that what he had done was more worthy of praise than of censure and punishment, and even if he deserved punishment for his good actions, that the penalty was remitted by the King's pardon. The decree of the King should be interpreted in a broad and generous spirit; otherwise it would not be an act of clemency but of hardship, not an act of kindness but of cruelty.

A son of Belial came forward and accused the Bishop before the Court that he had been in the company of Earl Hugh in a certain castle shortly before his flight, and that they discussed then how he should fly, and made the necessary preparations. If he proposed such a course, or aided in it, he was guilty of a capital crime. The holy Bishop could not have done what he was accused of, and he proved by witnesses above all suspicion that he was not in any part of that province at the time, nor within several days' journey of the place, so that he could have no knowledge of, much less could he have advised, that unfortunate expedition; and he would rather have dissuaded these persons from it; or if they had determined rather to die in exile than to live imprisoned at home, he would have accompanied them in their exile and would not part from such dear friends for ever. Even granted that he was aware

¹ See *Introd.*, p. 13.

of their intention to fly, though he had advised them to look to their own safety, though he had supplied them with food and drink, they were magnates of the realm, chiefs of the nation, subjects of the King, not rebels or traitors; no crime had been proved against them, they were not even suspected of it, for they were lovers of peace, and had returned from the English Court shortly before with the King's favour. Was it so great a crime to have been intimate with these leading men, who were looked on by all as good and faithful subjects, to have comforted and relieved them, as that it could not be atoned for otherwise than by death?

Whatever his enemies might say to the contrary, this was but a pretext, not the true reason, for putting him to death. The true reason which was in the minds of the judge and jury was, that he was a Catholic, a religious, a Bishop, that he had administered the sacraments, preached the word of God, worn the religious habit which was hateful to them.

But even a traitor should not be condemned in a court unless according to legal forms. I do not speak of the difference between civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, of the persons who are exempt, of a suitable judge, of the authority belonging to the decrees and canons of the church, which the martyr of Canterbury defended even at the sacrifice of his life against the English customs and the Constitutions of Clarendon.¹ He was tried by a jury. In this trial the procedure of English law was not followed. The accused was not allowed to challenge the jurors, as was his right. The questions of fact were to be decided by the jury; yet none but strangers to the country, English and Scotch, to whom the accused was not known, and who could not understand the circumstances of the case, were to

¹ These were laws made at a council of the nobles and prelates at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, in 1164, to check the power of the Church and lessen the privileges of ecclesiastics. Its ordinances were sixteen in number. See Lingard, *H. of England*, ii. 64.

give a verdict. There was one Irishman on the jury; he stated he did not understand what was said; moreover he dissented from the verdict, and declared this in the open court.¹ Was it because an Irishman did not deserve to be listened to when an Irishman was tried? Yet an Irishman who brought a false accusation against the Bishop was listened to and believed, and an Irishman who wished to set him free and declare him innocent was not listened to. He may think himself lucky if he is not punished for telling the truth. As soon as these twelve men, a jury of perjurers, one excepted, had given in their verdict on the facts put before them, the judge² pronounced the fatal sentence: 'Cornelius O'Devany, bishop of Down and Connor, should be taken back to prison, and then drawn on a cart to the place of execution, there hanged on the gallows, and cut down whilst alive, stripped, embowelled, his heart and bowels burnt, his head cut off, and his body quartered.' The same sentence was pronounced on Patrick.

A petition was written in his name, stating that he had lived in the province of Ulster when the Earl of Tyrone had carried on the war there and made incursions into other provinces, and neither on account of that rebellion or for any other reason had he avoided intercourse with the Earl and his party, still less after the peace had been made. If in this he had done wrong, and if the Act of Oblivion, published by the King and put forward in his defence, was not enough, he asked pardon from the Viceroy. The petition was handed in, and pardon was promised him in the Viceroy's name, if he put his name to it. Whether it was owing to a natural love of life or to a higher purpose on the part of God that he subscribed it, God turned to his profit and honour the treacherous designs of his enemies.

¹ See letter of Most Rev. Dr. O'Kearney, in *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 122.

² The judge was Dominic Sarsfield, who was most cruel to priests and Catholics. O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 299, and p. 231, *antea*.

The Bishop did not deny that he had been in the company of Earl Hugh; he admitted the fact openly, but he denied there was anything criminal in so doing. And if his adversaries, as they might, imputed it to him as a crime, he appealed to their mercy and asked for pardon; but if they desired his death, they should spare his good name and put forward the true reason why they condemned him to die. They were not skilful enough in this kind of warfare, for while protecting themselves on one side, they laid themselves open on another, and seeking to avoid the charge of cruelty, they made his life depend on the will of the King; and no longer veiling their plan, but showing themselves in their true deformity, they offered him his life if he would abandon the Catholic religion and pass over to their sect. When he heard this, he raised his voice and called the whole Christian world to bear witness that he wished to die in the Catholic faith and for its defence; that he would be unjust towards himself and deny God, if for such a trifling reward he abandoned the true faith. Wherefore, having obtained his wish and made his innocence evident, he showed his contempt for this perishable life, and eager for the death that was awaiting him, with the noble courage of a Christian he welcomed the triumph of the Cross.

A pious girl who used to take to the Bishop and the priest the food with which the Catholics supplied them, asked him about his health. He replied: 'For the last ten years, my child, I have not had better health, nor have I had greater strength of body or peace of mind. One thing only do I feel anxious about, that God would deign to lead me by the way of martyrdom to His heavenly kingdom and His divine presence rather than to die of old age and to perish of decay in this prison.¹ You, my child, have

¹ He was at this time in the eightieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his episcopate.

done me many and great acts of kindness, for which I am thankful to you, and I would repay them if I could. I know that God will reward you. I beg you to add this to your many good deeds done me, that when I am put to death (may God grant I shall be), you will take care to have me clothed and buried in this (showing her the habit of the Franciscan Order). For I value this which I made choice of in my youth more than any Episcopal insignia or armorial bearings.'

The martyr's piety increased in proportion to his sufferings, and in watching and prayer he waited for the day when he should be summoned to die. That day, more pleasant than any other, so long wished for, came at length. On the 1st of February, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was called out by the guards who were at the door, gathered round the hurdle on which he was to be drawn to the place of execution. When the Bishop caught sight of his triumphal chariot, he sighed and said: 'My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake went on foot up the hill, bearing His Cross on which He was to die for me; and must I, like one unwilling to die for Him, be carried to obtain a glorious prize, which I ought to run to seize hold of gladly and fearlessly. Would that I might carry my sweet cross on my shoulders, and on foot do this last duty for my soul going to meet my Lord!'

Then turning to his companion, Patrick,¹ 'Come my brave comrade, noble soldier of Christ,' said he, 'let us imitate as best we can the death of Him who was led to the slaughter as the sheep before the shearer.' Then bending down and kissing the hurdle, he mounted it, and sat with his back to the horses, and in this way he was drawn through the paved streets to the field where the gallows was set up.

¹ He is called by some writers Gillpatrick. In former times it was the custom to take Saints' names with the prefix Gilla, *i.e.*, servant of, or Mael, *i.e.*, tansured in honour of.

'The battle in which we are engaged consists in this,' says Tertullian, 'that we are summoned before the tribunals that there we may fight for the truth at the peril of our lives. Victory is what we strive for; and that victory brings with it the glory of pleasing God and the prize of eternal life. Your cruelty, however refined, is of no avail; it is rather an incentive to us. The oftener we are cut down by you, the more numerous we grow. Our blood is the seed of Christians.'¹ This was clearly shown during the martyrdom of the Bishop. For those Catholics who before he was imprisoned and condemned trembled at the sound of a falling leaf, who were afraid to meet a Catholic priest and still more a Bishop, and who sheltered them but very rarely in their houses lest they might run risk by so doing or incur the enmity of the rulers, now, while he was led to execution, poured out in a dense crowd from every door into the street, and all, high and low, from the neighbouring towns and castles, before the eyes of the Court, in sight of the councillors, to the indignation of the Deputy, fell on their knees; they ran forward and saluted reverently the Bishop as he passed by on the cart or triumphal chariot, and asked the prelate's blessing. And while they were shedding tears because of his death, he kindly addressed them and consoled them, and briefly exhorted them to firmness, constancy, and Christian piety. Many noble matrons came from their homes, and lamented the death of the Bishop aloud; and when they saw several of the King's councillors not merely looking on at this butchery, but even encouraging it, and accompanying the victim with deliberate purpose to the place of execution, they exclaimed, in the hearing of those persons: 'How strange that the King's councillors should turn executioners.'

A blessing on that citizen of Dublin, who, as the Bishop

¹ *Apol.*, 50.

was passing by his house fasting from early morn yet not fainting, asked him to pray for him and his family, and strove to give him strength by bringing to him some wine. We may well believe that he had in mind the vision in which his mother bade King Samuel to give strong drink to them that are sad, and wine to them that are grieved in mind;¹ that they may drink and forget their woes, and think of their sorrows no more. But because Cornelius was not sad, but rather exulted as a giant to run his course, he merely tasted the wine, and though his hands were bound, yet he blessed the house of this friend and the whole city of Dublin, and praised all its citizens for their great charity and the fervour of their faith.

When Cornelius came to the place of sacrifice, being very anxious about the firmness of his companion, he asked that Patrick might suffer death first, for he was afraid that by seeing him die and by the wiles of the Calvinists, Patrick might show some weakness. But, as he did not obtain his request, Patrick assured him that he need have no fear. 'For though,' said he, 'I should desire to die first, and to be comforted at the moment of death by your paternal charity, since we are now in the power of others; yet, good Father, you need have no fear for my constancy. Aid me by your prayers with God, by whose help I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor anything else, will separate me from the love of Christ or from my companionship with you.' Filled with joy at these words, Cornelius threw himself on his knees; and he had only time to utter a very short prayer, which however reached heaven, when the councillors, the sheriffs, and the executioner showed they wished to put an end to the business immediately. The crowd of people, closely packed

¹ Prov. xxxi. 6.

together, filled the field in the northern part of the city, which would easily hold three thousand. The executioner was an Englishman,¹ for no Irishman could be found who would defile himself by spilling the blood of one consecrated to God. He was a heretic and a robber, and had been cast into prison for theft; but he was set free that he might put the Bishop to death, and so brand himself as infamous during the rest of his life. Though he was hard-hearted and stern, and had purchased his liberty at the price of shedding another's blood, yet he was not without some feeling; for he addressed the Bishop respectfully, asked his pardon, and compassionated his grey hairs. With trembling hands he adjusted the rope. The very moment that the Bishop mounted the first step of the ladder, and his head was seen above the crowd, a great shout and a cry of lamentation was raised by the faithful.

Then the minister Challoner,² furious at hearing the cries of pity raised by the people at the sight of these innocent men about to suffer death, said to the Bishop and his companion: 'You impostors, why do you delude these ignorant people? Why do you end your lives with a lie, and allow yourself to be falsely styled martyrs? Say you are rebels, infamous, that the crowd may learn that it is for treason, and not for religion's sake, you are brought here.' To these words of the infuriated man the Bishop replied: 'Far be it from us, who are about to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ very soon, to impose on the people. Far be it from us, too, to admit that we are guilty of those crimes of which our conscience does not condemn us. Nor do we, through ambition, desire to bear the name of martyrs, a name far beyond our merits, though

¹ An English soldier, says *Camb. Evers.*, ii. 609.

² He held the prebend of Mullahidert at this time; later he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College. *Cotton's Fasti*, ii. 153. See also Parr's *Life of Ussher*, p. 14, and Fitzsimon's *Britannomachia*, p. 1.

for us to die for Christ is gain. You know well that you are yourself guilty of the very crime of falsehood with which you charge us, since you were sent a few hours ago, as you said, by the Viceroy to promise us life and liberty if we were willing to accept your wicked heresy. Go away then, thou son of darkness, and never again attempt to cloud by your calumnies and falsehood the purity of our innocence.' The minister departed and did not disturb the martyrs further.

When the Bishop reached the middle of the ladder, the cry of the people grew louder; a third time, in fine, when he was on the point of being thrown off, the lamentations of those who stood by beating their breasts increased. Three times he prayed, standing in this same place; first, for all those who stood around; secondly, for the city of Dublin and for all the Catholics of the kingdom, that they might serve God piously, faithfully, and perseveringly; and thirdly, in fine, for all heretics, that they might enter into themselves and be converted. When he was thrown off the ladder the whole crowd gave one great shout of anguish, and then the place became as silent as if there were not a man there. The executioners took him down very soon, and from the cheerfulness of his countenance they thought he was still alive. Then they cut off his head, opened his body, burned his bowels, and divided him into four quarters.¹ One who was standing by seized the head as soon as it was cut off, and rushed into the crowd; he was never found, though the Viceroy offered a reward of forty pounds of silver to any one who would inform on him.²

¹ This paragraph is taken from a letter of F. Conway, S.J., which in all other details corresponds exactly with the accounts given by the other writers. He says he had the account from one who saw with his own eyes what passed, and was one of the twelve who buried the bodies of the martyrs. See *Spiz. Ossor.* i. 126. See also the letter of Dr. O'Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, *Ibid.*, p. 119.

² O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, p. 304.

It is said that the field was covered with men, women, and children, all wishing to be as near as possible that they might see and hear, and each strove and struggled to carry away some of his relics, a piece of his clothes or shoes, a portion of his hair, a fragment of bone or skin. He was thought especially fortunate who succeeded in bearing away the martyr's head, more precious than gold, and deserving to be enclosed in gold and adorned with gems.

It is worthy of remark that Cornelius, who many years before was consecrated Bishop on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, was called by death to his reward in the other life on the vigil of the same feast, and on the day specially dedicated to the honour of St. Brigid, who is invoked by the whole nation as its patron and for whom he had a very special devotion.

The same day Patrick O'Loughran suffered death. He was accused of having traitorously gone to Belgium in the same ship with O'Neill and O'Donnell. He answered that he had gone in that same ship to Belgium to study, but earlier than O'Neill and O'Donnell, and he therefore knew nothing whatever of their flight. Being asked whether he wished to be tried by a jury of twelve men, he answered: if the twelve men were Irish, they would incur danger if they wished to save him, and perhaps they would not succeed; if they were heretics, through fear or for a bribe they would readily commit a sin and condemn him, and he did not wish that good Catholics should run risks, or that heretics should add to their sins: he hoped to find justice and equity in a judge. Then Sarsfield said: 'As you decline the trial appointed by law, the decision of the case devolves on me;' and he proceeded to pronounce the sentence, which was the same as that already pronounced on O'Devany. Some say it was Sarsfield who sentenced the Bishop, and Sibthorpe, the priest. It matters little, for both sat in judgment and agreed in the sentence. It is said, too, that

when the Bishop protested against being tried by a lay tribunal, Sarsfield alleged to him the example of Christ who submitted to the judgment of Pilate, and that the Bishop replied: 'If you are not ashamed to imitate Pilate, I am not sorry to imitate Christ.'

The bodies of the martyrs were left on the scaffold during the night and were guarded by the Catholics. The next day the city was emptied of people who went to see them and commend themselves to them, to the rage of the heretics, and the Viceroy ordered them to be buried at the place of execution. The following night twelve Catholic youths disinterred and brought them to a decent place, where they were buried with other martyrs.

In confirmation of the above narrative, here is the testimony of 'Barnaby Ryché, gentleman, servant to the King's Most Excellent Majesty,' a Protestant, who far from sympathising with the sufferings of the Bishop, or sharing in the feelings of horror which the Catholics manifested rather exults in the death of an enemy.

'On the 28th January the Bishop (O'Devany) and the priest (Pk. O'Loughran) were each condemned for treason, and adjudged to be executed the Saturday following, which day being come, a priest or two of the Pope's brood, with holy water and other holy stuffs, were sent to sanctify the gallows whereon they were to die. About two o'clock p.m. the traitors were delivered to the sheriffs of Dublin, who placed them in a small car, which was followed by a great multitude. As the car progressed the multitude knelt down; but the Bishop sitting still, like a block, would not vouchsafe them a word, or turn his head aside. The multitude, however, following the car, made such a dole after him as the heavens themselves resounded the echoes of their outcries. Being come to the gallows whither they were followed by troops of the citizens, men and women of all classes, most of the best being present, the latter kept up such a shrieking, such a howling, and such a hallooing as if St. Patrick himself had been going to the gallows, could not have made greater signs of grief. But when they saw him turned from off the gallows, they raised the hubbub with such a main cry, as if the rebels had come to rifle the city.

Being ready to mount the ladder, when he was pressed by some of the bystanders to speak, he repeated frequently, *Sine me quaeso*. The executioner had no sooner taken off the Bishop's head but the townspeople began to flock about him, some taking up the head with pitying aspect, accompanied with sobs and sighs; some kissed it with as religious an appetite as they ever kissed the Pax; some cut away all the hair from the head, which they preserved as a relic; some others were practisers to steal the head away, but the executioner gave notice to the sheriffs.

Now, when he began to quarter the body, the women thronged about him, and happy was she that could get but her handkerchief dipped in the blood of the traitor; and the body being once dismembered in four quarters, they neither left finger nor toe, but they cut them off and carried them away; and some others that could get no holy monuments that appertained to his person, with their knives they shaved off chips from the hallowed gallows; neither would they omit the halter wherewith he was hanged but it was rescued for holy uses. The same night after the execution, a great crowd flocked about the gallows, and there spent the fore part of the night in heathenish howling, and performing many popish ceremonies. And after midnight, being then Candlemas day in the morning, having their priests present in readiness, they had Mass after Mass, till daylight being come, they departed to their own houses. The Bishop was invested by the Pope, for these Balaamite idiots be fit instruments to spread the Pope's doctrine, especially in Ireland, where the poor people are so infested with this locust vermin of priests and friars, that they will sooner believe an ass that comes from Rome with a Pope's Bull, than an angel from heaven that should be sent with the light of God's word.¹

Chichester, the Lord Deputy, wrote four days after to Lord Salisbury:—'I have given charge to Sir R. Cooke to tell you . . . how a titular bishop and a priest being lately executed here for treason merely, are, notwithstanding, by them thought martyrs and adored for saints.' When he was told that the people venerated them as martyrs, he said: 'I will soon give them plenty like them.'²

¹ Ryche, *A Catholic Conference*, fol. 5.

² *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 244.

³ Letter of F. Conway, S.J.; in *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 127.

Here is how the Four Masters, under the date 1611, speak of the death of O'Devany and O'Lochran:—

Conor O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, who had been at first a friar of the Order of St. Francis of the convent of Donegal, but who was afterwards, for his good qualifications, elected to the episcopal dignity, was taken prisoner by the English, and he was detained by them for a long time in bondage and punishment, and they offered him riches and many rewards if he would turn over to their heresy; but he refused to accept of them, for he despised transitory riches for an everlasting kingdom. God released him from the English on that occasion; but he was taken again. Sir Arthur Chichester being at this time Lord Justice of Ireland, he was put to death. He was first beheaded, then his body was cut in quarters, and his flesh mangled, in Dublin on the 1st of February. There was not a Christian in the land of Ireland whose heart did not shudder within him at horror of the martyrdom which this chaste, wise divine, and this perfect and truly meek, righteous man suffered for the reward of his soul. The Christians who were in Dublin contended with each other to see which of them should have one of his limbs, and not only his limbs, but they had fine linen in readiness to prevent his blood from falling on the ground,¹ for they were convinced that he was one of the martyrs of the Lord.

Gillpatrick O'Loughrane, a distinguished priest, was with the Bishop at this time. When the English had decided that both these should be put to death, the Bishop felt afraid that the priest might be filled with horror and dismay at the sight of the tortures about to be inflicted upon his body in his presence. He, therefore requested the executioner to put the priest to death before himself. The priest said that he need not be in dread on his account, and that he would follow without fear, and he remarked it was not meet an honourable Bishop should be without a priest to attend him. This he fulfilled, for he consented and suffered the like torture to be inflicted on him with fortitude, for the sake of obtaining the kingdom of heaven for his soul.²

'The same night,' writes the Archbishop of Cashel, 'the Lord was pleased to honour the Bishop's body with a

¹ There is preserved in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, a small parcel containing a piece of linen tinged with blood. On the outside is written: 'Ex sanguine Cornelii Episcopi Dunensis et Conorensis.' See introduction to Roche's *Analecta*, cvi. and *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 33.

² *Annals F.M.*, vi. 2371.

miracle wrought on a paralytic, who, as best he could, crawled to it with reverence and faith, and as soon as he touched it was cured.¹

The Archbishop of Dublin, in a report to the Propaganda, February 4th, 1623, says: 'Cornelius O'Devany, a Franciscan, Bishop of Down and Connor, being almost eighty years of age, was crowned with martyrdom about ten years ago in Dublin, thus giving a noble example to the whole nation.'²

'The holy Bishop,' writes F. Holywood, S.J., 'a short time before his capture, forwarded to me the names and dates of death of all the bishops and priests whom he knew to have been executed since the death of Primate Creagh, and he asked me to investigate their lives and actions and save them from oblivion. Hence as soon as I heard of his death, not being far away from the scene at the time, I believed that he who was so anxious to preserve the memory of our Martyrs, had received the crown of martyrdom himself.'³

In the Bull of appointment of his successor Edmund Dungan, the See of Down and Connor is declared 'vacant owing to the death of Brother Cornelius of Down, beheaded by the heretics on account of the Catholic faith.'⁴

The bodies of these holy men were buried in St. James church, as we learn from the following letter:—

'Mr. Dosterfield is lately dead, and desired to be buried between these two blessed martyrs, as he called them, in St. James', Kilmainham, viz., the popish Archbishop of Dublin,⁵ that was executed in Lord Chichester's govern-

¹ *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 123.

² Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 289.

³ *Dist. Irishmen*, p. 474.

⁴ Ob fidem Catholicam ab hæreticis obtruncati. Brady's *Epis. Succession*, i. 269.

⁵ A mistake natural enough for a Protestant to make.

ment, and a holy fryer that died with him, which was done accordingly, with 1,000 beholders.'¹

See also Fitzsimon, Copinger, O'Sullivan, Molanus, Ward, Wadding, O'Daly, Lynch, Arsdeken, Porter, and Hueber.²

1612. SIR PATRICK PURCELL.

(From O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 294.)

THE murder of Sir Patrick Purcell, knight, worn out by old age, is well known. In his eightieth year, he was accused of having entertained at supper, in Elizabeth's time, a Catholic knight who was fighting on the side of the Catholics. He was hanged, and cut down when only half dead, and his bowels were cast into the fire, at Fethard in the year 1612. He was known to be a patron and protector of priests.

1617. THOMAS FITZGERALD, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 499.)

HE was descended from the very ancient family of the Earls of Desmond.³ From his very childhood he was so virtuous that he was considered a saint. When he was enrolled in the Seraphic Order, not only did he strengthen himself by vows in the virtues which he practised in the secular state, but he added others to them. He completed his studies in Spain, and in 1609 he taught theology in the

¹ *Lismore Papers*, 2nd series, iii. 86.

² In *Spic. Ossor.*, iii. 32, there is a letter written by F. Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., from Dundalk, April 25th, 1612, giving an account of O'Devany's, and O'Loughran's death, corresponding in every detail with that given above. He says he saw some parts of the Martyrs' bodies kept as relics. *Ibid.*

³ Molanus says the residence of the branch of the Desmond family to which he belonged was Dabronopolis, perhaps Achadbronagh, near Castleisland.

College of St. Anthony of Padua at Louvain.¹ Filled with zeal for the salvation of souls, he returned to Ireland at a time when the pestilential heresy of the English was rampant everywhere. He was Commissary and Visitor of the Irish province. For many months he was unwearied in his task of feeding the Catholic people of Munster and Leinster with the word of God, at one time preaching to them in the woods and caves, at another administering the sacraments in private houses, at all times setting before them an example of every virtue, especially of charity, modesty, the token of his inward purity, religious humility, and burning zeal. When he had passed four years in this secret and hidden way, consoling the Catholics, he was seized by the heretics, taken to Dublin,² and cast into an underground prison. Worn out by hardships he died therein on the 12th of July, 1617. The citizens having asked for his body, celebrated his obsequies for three or four days with much devotion, to the great surprise and indignation of the heretics, who strove to prevent them. At length his remains were laid in the same cemetery as those of the Bishop.³

See also Rothe, O'Sullivan, Ward, Wadding, Porter, and Hueber.

1618. PATRICK O'DYRY.

(*Ibid.*, p. 505.)

HE was a native of Ulster, and a priest, and gained a

¹ Founded for the Irish Franciscans by Isabella, Regent of the Netherlands, in 1616. See the *Journal of the R. S. A. I.*, for October, 1893, p. 237.

² Diary of Lord Cork, April, 1613: 'Captain Goar apprehended Thomas Fitzgerald, the friar, in Voughal, I being then at Dungarvan; and when I came home, I brought him from the gaol and kept him in my own house for fifteen days, till the Lord Deputy sent for him.' *Lismore Papers*, 1st series, i. 21.

³ The reference is most probably to O'Devany, buried in St. James'. The account of him immediately precedes that of Fitzgerald in Bruodin.

victory at Derry of St. Columkille,¹ as he would not obey the iniquitous laws of Elizabeth and James. He overcame very cruel tortures, and preferred the ignominious death of the scaffold and the cutting of his body into four parts, to abandoning the way of truth. He died, venerable by reason of his age and virtues, January 6th, 1618, and, as we may well hope, enjoys a crown of glory with the Saints.

See also Copinger and O'Sullivan.

1618. JOHN HONAN, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 505.)

HE was a native of Connaught, a priest, and a member of the Franciscan Order. After he had spent many years in religion a model to all of every virtue, and had discharged the office of pastor very zealously among the persecuted Catholics of Leinster, he was seized by the English heretics in Dublin and cast into prison. After six weeks of imprisonment, rejecting with contempt the honours and benefices offered to him in the King's name if he would change his religion, he was most cruelly tortured, then hanged, and quartered, and so triumphed gloriously October 14th, 1618.

See also O'Sullivan.

1618. CORNELIUS CRONAN, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

HE belonged to the Convent of the Multyfarnham. He

¹ Derry was called Doire Calgaich until it was given to St. Columkille by his relative Aedh, son of Ainmire. The Saint built a monastery and a church here, which was known as Dubh Regles, on the site now occupied by the Long Tower Catholic church and the adjoining cemetery. There is a holy well close by bearing the Saint's name. See the *Ordnance Survey Memoir of Templemore*.

was seized by Placidus, the heretical Bishop of Tuam,¹ in a certain monastery, in the year 1617, and imprisoned at Mullingar. Worn out by the squalor of the prison, he died there blissfully in the Lord in the year 1618.

1620. JAMES EUSTACE, O.CIST.

(From Hartry's *Triumphalia*, p. 257.)

ON the 8th of September, 1620, the Rev. James Eustace received the crown of martyrdom, and by sufferings on earth like those of his brother in religion Nicholas Fitzgerald,² obtained a reward in heaven. The author says he heard the account of the martyrdom of these two religious from a venerable priest, Richard Kelly, then in the seventy-sixth year of his age and in the fifty-first of his priesthood.

1621. FRANCIS TAILLER.

(From Molanus' *Idea*, p. 96.)

HE passed several years in prison in Dublin, and endured in it all the hardships of cold and confinement. Broken down by sufferings, he exchanged this brief life for eternity, in the year 1621. We have the following testimony borne to his merits by the Archbishop and several of the leading clergy of the city:—

'We, the undersigned, having been asked to declare what we know with certainty of the manner of life and of the death of Francis Tailler, senator³ of Dublin, and resolved to give to virtue

¹ William Daniel was at this time Protestant Archbishop of Tuam.

² See p. 120. *antea*.

³ He was Alderman. See Gilbert's *Calendar of Records of Dublin*, iii. 42. Ware gives Francis Taylor as Sheriff in 1586 and Mayor in 1595.

the praise it deserves, and to all good men the honour due to them even after death, testify and declare from certain knowledge that the aforesaid Francis Tailler, senator of the City of Dublin, was by far the most respected of the senators of Dublin, and not only that he was of good repute and much honoured by all good men, but so faithful to God that though far advanced in years, and respected for his virtue and constancy which was tested by various persecutions and imprisonment at the hands of the enemies of the Catholic Church, yet he could never be induced to swerve by a hair's breadth from the profession of the Catholic faith and obedience to the Church of Rome. Wherefore, after an imprisonment of seven years, worn out by old age and the hardships of the prison, he died in the Castle of Dublin on January 30th, 1621. So we testify, and in proof of our good faith, we gladly subscribe our names and set our seals to the same.

Given in Dublin, in Ireland, August 17th, 1630.¹

Thomas Fleming,¹ Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.

Luke Rochfort, P.P. of St. Audeon's.

Patrick Cahill, Rector of St. Mary's, Galtrim.

Fr. Dominic Nugent, of the Order of Preachers.

Henry Cusack, Superior of the Residence S.J., Dublin.

'I wish to add my testimony to what is known by public report and spread abroad by the abundant testimony of many persons, and to show my respect for one who was an example to future generations, and whose memory we can never sufficiently commend. Francis Tayler was sprung from an ancient noble family both on the father's and the mother's side, and filled several public offices with great credit, as that of Mayor, Treasurer, and Senator, in fine, in the City of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland. But he was far more illustrious by his profession of the Catholic faith, to which he was very much attached all his life. He put the crown to this constancy and to his other great virtues by a glorious death after an imprisonment of seven years in the Castle of Dublin, on the 20th of January, 1621.

'In testimony whereof I have set my name and seal to these presents.

'Given in Paris, May 4th, 1631.'

Thomas Mede, Protonotary of the Holy Roman Church, formerly Almoner of the Most Illustrious Cardinal de Bérulle.

¹ He was Archbishop of Dublin from 1623 to 1656. See his *Life* in Renshan's *Collections*, i. 190, and Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 294.

1622. JOHN CATHAN,¹ O.S.F.(From Ward's *Catalogue*.)

HE made his religious profession in the College of Saint Antony of Padua, Louvain. While he was employed as preacher in the convent of Buttevant,² he was seized there by the heretics and cast into prison in Limerick. He died in his chains in the year 1622. On the night of his death a bright flame, like a pillar, was seen by many, shining over the house in which he was lying. Many other wonderful things were seen at the time of his death.

1628. EDMUND DUNGAN, BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

(Ibid.)

HE was a member of the Third Order of St. Francis. After enduring great hardships in prison, he died in chains for the faith in the year 1628.³ On the 7th of September of the following year, the Archbishop elect of Armagh, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop elect of Kilmore, in a letter to Pope Urban VIII., pray him to appoint Bonaventure Magennis, O.S.F., to the See, and they add: 'We pity the desolate condition of the church of Down and Connor more than that of any other, for it has been deprived of two most illustrious champions of the faith one after the other.'⁴

¹ Anglicised O'Kane and Kane.² Founded by the Barry family about the middle of the 13th century. Some portions of it still remain. See the *Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, ii. 83.³ Anno 1628, upon the 2nd of November, being Sunday at night, the titular Bishop of Down and Connor died in the Castle of Dublin. He was accused by one Patrick O'Mulvany, a Popish priest, of a conspiracy to bring in foreign powers. The Tuesday following, at four o'clock in the morning, he was brought forth and buried in St. Warborough's churchyard. *Hunting of the Romish Fox*, p. 195.⁴ Brady's *Epis. Succession*, i. 270. The other was Cornelius O'Devany. See p. 238, *antea*.1631. PATRICK FLEMING¹ AND MATTHEW HORE, O.S.F.(From Magennis' *De Incunabulis Collegii, B.V.M., Pragensis*.²)

IN the year 1631, when the Prince Elector of Saxony made an incursion into Bohemia, and was marching on Prague to plunder it, the citizens, the nobles, and many of the religious too, went in crowds to a more secure and better fortified place. At this time F. Patrick Fleming, Lector of sacred theology, and a most zealous promoter of religious discipline, was the first Guardian of the small community of the Franciscans of the Strict Observance who had just settled in Prague, having obtained permission to do so from the Emperor Ferdinand, by the exertions of F. Malachy Fallon, O.S.F.

The community consisted of six. As their house was very poor, they thought their poverty would be their best protection. But they were warned that their lives were not safe, as many of those among the enemy were infected with heresy. It was arranged that the Guardian and Matthew Hore, a deacon, F. Patrick Taaffe, and Francis Magennis, who was not yet in holy orders, should accompany the Count De Thun to some safer place. A message from the Secretary of the Chancellor of Bohemia made the Guardian and his companion delay their journey for one day; the others set off at the appointed time. On the way they were received very kindly by the Burgravine von Steinberg and her son, devoted friends of the Order, and entertained for the night. Early the next morning they set out. They were overtaken by two Servites, who asked them to accompany them in their carriage. F. Fleming refused, preferring

¹ He was brother of the Baron of Slane.² In the Preface to Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*.

to go on foot. Br. Hore,¹ who was quite exhausted, joined them. The Guardian walking close by, recited with them the Rosary in honor of the Mother of God.

As they were approaching the village of Benesave, in which F. Taaffe and Br. Magennis had passed the night, all of a sudden seven peasants rushed out of their house. Three of them fell on the Guardian, to rob him. One of them with a blow laid him low; the others rushed to the chariot and attacked Br. Hore.

The Servites fled to the house of the Count De Thun, and told what had befallen their fellow-travellers. The Burgraf von Steinberg arrived soon after, bringing in his chariot the Guardian's dead body, which he had met on the road. There were five wounds on his head, from which blood was issuing. The body was taken to the Franciscan Convent of Voticum, seven miles from Prague, and buried there with great honour. Two more of the monks who had left Prague at the nearer approach of the enemy, came to Benesave, where they hoped to find their beloved Father. There they learned he had been put to death. Soon after, a body of soldiers, commanded by Balthasar Barrady, came thither bringing the body of a Franciscan. He was soon recognised by the other monks. He had received a wound in the side; his heart had been pierced through by three bullets; his ears, too, were cut off. Our Fathers, Gerald Fitzgerald and Francis Welferston, took care to have the body buried, lest it might fall in to the hands of the heretics. After some weeks, Count Suorby had Br. Matthews' body transferred to Voticum, and buried in the Convent of the Franciscans, which he had founded, in the same tomb with F. Fleming, and took care to have the spot surrounded by an iron railing. Those who were present when the body was removed, declared that not only was it free from all corruption, but that the face was of a beautiful colour.

¹ The name is written also Hoar, and Hory.

In the preface to the *Acta SS.*, Colgan says of F. Fleming: 'He is united by the crown of martyrdom to the saints for whom he laboured;' and again: 'he obtained the crown of martyrdom.'¹

See also Colgan and Bruodin.

1633. ARTHUR M'GEOGHEGAN, O.P.

(From O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 364.)

F. MALPHÆUS, O.P., in his *Palma Fidei O.P.*, gives a detailed account of him. When he was returning to his native country from Lisbon (where he had lived for some time in the college of our Lady of the Rosary), he landed in England. He was soon after accused in London of having said in Spain that it was lawful for any one to kill the King of England. He was found guilty, hanged, and his heart and entrails cut out. But on closer examination, when the matter had been brought under the notice of the Queen,² though too late, he was declared, in a placard fixed up in the streets, to have been falsely accused and condemned to death though innocent; and it was proved that he had not said what was laid to his charge, but only asserted when disputing with a heretic, who denied man's free-will, that nothing would be criminal or unlawful in human acts, not even the killing of a king, if liberty did not exist. The aforesaid F. Malphæus relates two or three wonderful things that happened at his death. The first is that when the rope was cut and he was let down from the gallows and his heart and entrails were cut out, he was still alive and breathing; and whilst the executioner was shewing his heart to the crowd and exclaiming: 'This is the

¹ There is an elegiac poem of 48 lines 'In Martyrium Venerabilium Fratrum Patricii Fleming et Matthæi Hoar ab impiis in Bohemia occisorum,' in the Preface to Fleming's *Collectanea*.

² Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. and sister of Louis XII., King of France.

heart of a traitor,' it has been proved by the testimony of the bystanders that he turned his eyes towards the executioner, and spat at him; secondly, when the executioner was throwing his entrails into the fire prepared for the purpose, a certain young man who stood by, seeing the liver of the martyr outside the fire, thrust it in with a stick which he had in his hand, and went away cursing the man himself and his religion. But he did not escape the avenging hand of God, for his sacrilegious hand immediately trembled, and he was struck down with such internal pains that he was obliged to throw himself down on the nearest mound of earth. Some women who were on their way to the place of execution, perceived a very sweet odour while they were at some distance off, such as they never perceived before, and the nearer they came to the spot, the more fragrant it was. One of these, though a heretic, yet honestly confessed the truth of this fact. Moreover, a German, a dealer in spices by trade, passing by perceived the same sweet smell, and asserted that he never met with any so sweet in his workshop. In fine, Falkland, the Viceroy of Ireland, who was one of his judges, declared that he had suffered in consequence, and that his leg was broken in an unusual and truly wonderful way.

We have several accounts of his trial and death written at the time. 'On Wednesday, the 27th of November, Arthur Gohagan was drawn on a hurdle from the King's Bench to the City of London and so to Tiburne, from whence he was lifted off into a cart, where undismayed and with a fearless countenance he spake these words:—"In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum quia redemisti me, O Deus veritatis meæ," which he often repeated. Then desiring all good Christians to pray for him, he earnestly commended his soul to God, and said: "O thou glorious Virgin Mother of our Lord and Saviour, pray to thy Son Jesus Christ to receive my soul. I would fain have received

the Holy Sacrament, according to the injunction of our Order, but I could get no priest to give it me." Then being stript to his shirt, holding up his hands to heaven with great earnestness, repeating: "In manus tuas, etc.," the cart was drawn away, when he hanged a little time; then the rope was cut with a bill, the hangman holding him fast in his arms that he should not fall to the ground, at which time the cord being slack, he made a great noise in his throat. Then they laid him on the earth, drew him along (being alive) near the fire, threw there his bowels and heart, laid him afterwards upon his face, cut off his head by the neck, divided his body by the waist, and then cut it asunder in four parts, which were not dispersed on the gates, but some of his friends obtained the disposing of them, and sent them over sea to be interred as he requested.'¹

Two days after his execution, Nicolaldi, the Spanish Ambassador,² wrote: 'They hanged an Irish Dominican Friar here two days ago. He can enter into the number of the Martyrs. I cannot send the account of the case now, but will do so another day, and they will see in Rome, whatever the French may say to the contrary about the trivial nature of the persecution here on account of religion, that this Friar suffered for religion. His persecutors maliciously invented a pretext, and all I could do with the King and his ministers was of no avail.'

The General Chapter of the Order held in Rome in 1644, thus speaks of him: 'The Venerable F. B. Arthur Geoghegan, having completed his studies in Spain, and transacted with great prudence certain business entrusted to him, when returning to his province was seized by the

¹ Mostyn MSS., in *Irish Eccl. Record* for November, 1894.

² He asked on the scaffold that 'his body be not dismembered, and that the Spanish Ambassador would send it to be buried in some abbey or place belonging to an abbey of St. Dominick.' *Ibid.*

English heretics and cast into prison in London. He endured many calumnies from the heretics through hatred of the faith, and was brought to trial on a charge of high treason, as their custom is, and was condemned to death. At the place of execution he made open profession that he was a Catholic and a Dominican. He was hanged, and while half-alive he was cut down, his limbs cut asunder, and his entrails burnt. And so he ended his life gloriously in the year 1633.²¹

1639. JOHN MEAGH,² S.J.

(From Alegambe's *Mortes Illustres*, p. 538.)

JOHN MEAGH was a native of Cork, in the province of Munster. To remove him from the persecution of the heretics, he was taken by his father first to France, and then to Naples. After his father's death, he entered the service of the Duke of Ossuna, the Viceroy. But disliking the frivolous amusements of the Court, he began to think of leaving it; and he would have done so if the Viceroy had not been recalled just then to Spain. In this way John found the means of going there, and asking for some favour from the King. He was received in so kindly a way that he obtained very soon an annual pension; with this he returned to Naples.

But mark by what wonderful ways God draws men to Him. The young man prayed to God to make known to him, when he opened a book, the manner of life which he should enter on. He opened it, and found there the *Life of St. Dymphna*,³ a maiden of royal birth, who fled from Ireland

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 559.

² Probably a native of Cork. Several of the name were Mayors of Cork between 1379 and 1437.

³ Her feast is on May 15th. See O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, v. 284.

to avoid her father's fury, and was afterwards slain by him. John thought the history of a woman unsuited to him for imitation, and was thinking of looking for some other; but in the mean time he went on reading it; again and again he deliberated about turning over the leaves, and searching for another, and yet he hesitated to turn them. 'What if God wishes me to leave the world,' said he, 'and to flee from all occasions of sin, as that royal maiden did when she left her native country.' Wherefore, he determined to enter the religious state without further delay; and whilst he was yet hesitating somewhat, he was wrongfully accused of a grievous crime, and taken into custody. Seeing in the prison a statue of St. Ignatius, he consoled himself with the thought that he, too, was thrown into prison though free from all guilt. Wherefore, he placed himself under this Saint's protection, and asked his aid. Soon after he was released.

This occurred during the year of the Jubilee. Through devotion he set off for Rome. On the way his leg was hurt somehow, and he was hospitably entertained by our Fathers, and nursed until he recovered. Full of gratitude for their kindness, and remembering that St. Ignatius too had broken his leg, he determined to enter the Society. He was ordained a priest, and sent back to Naples with letters from the General to the Provincial. There he entered the noviciate, and having gone through it in a blameless manner, he was sent to Bohemia for a short time, in order to acquire some experience before he returned to Ireland to be employed in the saving of souls. His zeal and earnestness were specially remarked, his great piety while offering the sacrifice of the Mass, which was often witnessed by those who assisted thereat, and his great eagerness to divert the conversation to divine things. He was about to depart for Ireland, and he had prepared himself for the journey by making the spiritual exercises.

Indeed, he had a sort of presentiment that he should be called on to offer up his life for the faith.

John Pauer, who after the death of Gustavus Adolphus commanded the Swedish army that harassed Germany so long, made an incursion into Bohemia in 1639 and laid siege to Prague, its capital city. The Fathers who were then in the College of Cattemberg, terrified at the approach of such a powerful enemy, looked for some safe place where they might take refuge. The College of Neuhaus seemed better suited to their wants than any other place. Several were told to go there by different roads; these were beset with robbers, whom the hardship of the times or the hope of booty induced to arm themselves, to the ruin of travellers. Moreover, many of the people were still infected with wicked doctrine, and though it had been preached against some years before throughout the whole of Bohemia, yet the consequences of that evil teaching remained deeply fixed in the minds of many, and induced these rude men to assail those who strove to root out such principles by their preaching. Many of these were robbed and forced to fly. Three of them were slain, namely, John Meagh, Martin Ignatius, and Wenceslaus Trnoska. There are two reasons for asserting that they were put to death through hatred of the Catholic faith. One is the hatred which the heretics have for the very name of Jesuit, because they find them to be among the most active and zealous defenders and teachers of the faith. The second is, that they did no harm whatever to the other persons who were travelling with ours, nay, even they bade them put away all fear and take courage; this is a certain fact. John received one wound in the breast from a small leaden bullet. Martin was wounded in the breast, and received a deadly blow on the head from an axe. Wenceslaus was shot through the temples. The place where they were murdered is one mile from Guttenberg, on the road to Neuhaus. The

date was May 31st, 1639. Their bodies were taken away by the nobleman Bernard De Gerschoff, and buried in the church of the Holy Trinity, in the village of Litz. On June 3rd following they were transferred to the church of St. Barbara, at the Rector's request. F. John Meagh was put to death in his 39th year, thirteen of which he had passed in the Society of Jesus.

See also Rothe, Tanner, and Bruodin.

1642. PETER HIGGIN, O.P.¹

(From De Burgo's *Hib. Dom.*, p. 561.)

HE was a member of the Dublin Community. When the war was begun by the Catholics for their faith and country,² he was seized by the heretics and cast into a prison, where he endured much from the hardships of the place and want of food. Yet no one made a charge against him, nay rather, many heretics by word of mouth and writing declared he was innocent of any crime. While in prison he made his confession three times to his prior, who by disguising himself contrived to obtain admittance to him. He declared publicly that he was innocent of any crime, and he openly professed his adhesion to the Catholic faith. His constancy in the midst of his sufferings, and the joy shown on his face, moved many of the heretics to tears; others were still more maddened thereby, so that not only did they expose his dead body to insult, but they would not allow it to be buried within the city; and when it was passing outside the gate, they broke the

¹ De Burgo shows he was a different person from Peter O'Higgin. The one was Prior, the other held no such office, as is shown by the fact that his Prior is spoken of above. In the Acts of the Chapter of the Order, held in 1644 and 1656, they are spoken of as different persons.

² The motto of the Confederate Catholics was: Pro Deo, rege, et patria; Hiberni unanimes. See Gilbert's *History of the Confederation*, ii. 85.

skull with a blow of the butt of a gun. He was hanged on March 23rd, 1642.

1642. PETER O'HIGGIN, O.P.

(From O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 335.)

HE was Prior of Naas,¹ and a famous preacher of the word of God. He was seized by the heretics and brought before the Viceroy of Ireland in Dublin, as teaching doctrine opposed to the Anglican creed and leading the people astray. For this he was cast into prison. But when nothing could be proved against him that would deserve capital punishment by the laws of the country, he was told he would be set free and amply rewarded if he would abandon the Catholic religion and enter the Protestant sect. On the very morning that he was to be led to the scaffold, a messenger was sent by the Viceroy to the Father in prison, and these terms were again offered to him. But he answered wisely and fearlessly. 'To-day,' said he, 'I am about to be led to the scaffold; and everyone knows well that human nature is unwilling to face death; nor am I so weary of life as to wish to hasten my death, did not necessity oblige me. The Viceroy has deigned to send me a promise written out by his own hand, which gives me complete and unhindered choice between life and death, so that if through love of life I should abandon my religion, the presence of death would in some measure excuse me from blame.' The Viceroy thinking that he was terrified and almost overcome, ordered the execution to be carried out; he signed the promise under the aforesaid condition, and the paper was handed to the courageous Father as he was about to mount the first step of the ladder. He took it in his hand with a smile.

¹ The Dominican priory was founded in 1356 by one of the Eustace family; hence it was dedicated to St. Eustachius, a Roman martyr, whose feast is on December 20th. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 293.

The heretics showed their delight, thinking they would lead off this convert in triumph; perhaps the Catholics dreaded the scandal that would be given. But the man of God, in full possession of all his faculties, did not stop short; he went up with still greater delight; and when he had reached the top, he held out the letter signed by the Viceroy, and from his own writing proved the judge guilty of passing an unjust sentence. Then he addressed the Catholics who were standing round, in this manner:

'Dearest brethren, members of the holy Roman Catholic Church, ever since I fell into the cruel hands of these heretics who are here, I have endured hunger, insult, and imprisonment in dark and noisome places. I knew not why I should suffer such penalties; and I was in doubt whether I should obtain the martyr's crown. For it is not the punishment but the cause that makes the martyrs. But Almighty God who protects the innocent, disposing all sweetly, has brought things about so that, accused as a seducer, and arraigned for certain crimes made such by the laws of this kingdom, the sole reason why I am condemned to death to-day is that I profess the Catholic religion. Here is the authentic proof of my innocence, the autograph letter of the Viceroy, offering to me very rich rewards and my life if I abandon the Catholic religion. I call God and man to witness that I firmly and unhesitatingly reject these offers, and that willingly and gladly I enter into this conflict professing that faith.'

He then threw the paper to a friend of his, and bade the executioner do his duty. After he had been cast off, his body still hanging was frequently shaken by the executioner, and while it hung quietly, he sent forth a deep sigh, 'Deo gratias.' Having thus defeated the cunning of the Viceroy and confounded the hopes of the heretics, he died.¹

¹ De Burgo gives 1641 as the year of his death, on the authority of the General Chapter of 1656. Probably he follows the old style.

Carte gives the following account of his death¹ :—

There was one Father Higgins, a Franciscan,² a very quiet, inoffensive, pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who officiated as a Roman Catholic Priest at the Naas and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English in those parts from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The Earl of Ormonde found him at the Naas, took him under his protection (he having never been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection but the matter of his religion), and brought him along with him to Dublin. About six weeks afterwards, when upon the Earl of Ormonde's return from his expedition to Drogheda, it was thought politic to discourage the submissions which the gentry of the Pale and others who had been drawn in or forced to submit to the prevailing force of the rebels were generally disposed to make, and to exasperate them by new cruelties, and when these executions by martial law were carrying on in Dublin, whereof Sir Charles Coote was still Governor . . . this man was seized on March 24th, and without any formality or delay, immediately hanged. The Earl of Ormonde hearing of it after the execution, too late to prevent the cruelty, expostulated with the Lords Justices about it in Council. They pretended to be surprised at it, and excused themselves from having any hand in the fact by their having given Sir Charles Coote a general authority to do such things without consulting them. The Earl told them that he did not expect such usage from them, as that they should either order or suffer a person so well recommended to him, and so justly taken into his protection, to be put to so ignominious a death, and insisted that Coote should be tried for what he had done, as having offended the laws and put not only an innocent but a deserving subject to death, without examination, without a legal trial, and without a particular or lawful warrant to authorize him therein.

There is something so very extraordinary in this proceeding of Sir Charles Coote, that one is afraid of guessing at the motives thereof. The hanging of a man of character, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none but that of his religion, looked as if they had a mind to countenance the notices, which they pretended in their letters to guard against, of this being a war of religion.

See also Bruodin.

¹ *Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, i. 278.

² This is, of course, a mistake. He was a Dominican.

1642. EDMUND HORE AND JOHN CLANCY.

(From the *Barberini Archives*, Rome.)

ON March 9th, 1642, the Most Rev. Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, wrote to a friend resident in Paris :—

'Last week, the President of Ulster, having received reinforcements, once more took the field, together with the Earl of Cork, the Earl of Barrymore, Lord Broghill, and Sir John Browne. Marching to Dungarvan and seizing on the Castle, they set fire to the town and put to death F. Edmund Hore and F. John Clancy, both priests, together with others of the principal citizens. They then sacked the place, and retired leaving a strong garrison in the Castle.'

1642. FERGAL WARD, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 698.)

HE was a native of Ulster, a religious of the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance, and a very famous preacher. He was seized treacherously by a certain Forbes, a Scotchman by birth, a cruel and barbarous rebel, who had the command of six pirate vessels given him by the parliament.¹ Three months after he was taken prisoner, he was hanged, through hatred of the faith, from the yard-arm of a ship in the middle of the river Shannon, where this pirate was lying in wait for plunder for many weeks. He died at the end of October, 1642.

1642. THOMAS AQUINAS OF JESU, O.D.C.

(From F. Eusebius' *Enchiridion*, p. 202.)

FATHER THOMAS AQUINAS was a distinguished preacher

¹ Forbes had 1,200 men under his command. He plundered Kinsale, Galway, and both banks of the Shannon. The famous Hugh Peters was his chaplain during this expedition, and his Lordship was much guided by his advice. See Caste's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 347, and Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 117.



(I) THOMAS AQUINAS A JESU; (II) PETER OF THE MOTHER OF GOD;
(III) ANGELUS A CONCEPTIONE, O.D.C.

and a zealous missionary, who earned for himself the hatred of the heretics by the assiduity and successful results of his preaching and labours in confirming the oppressed and persecuted Catholics in the faith, and in winning several back who had fallen into the errors of heresy. He was captured, while engaged in his apostolic work, in the house of a noble family recently converted by him. The Puritans, having obtained information of his whereabouts through the treachery of a servant, invested the house on all sides, like wolves raging for the blood of the priest, and threatened the inmates with all manner of excesses and cruelties if the Papist priest were not given up to them. They searched the house in every part, but having searched in vain retired, and prepared to set it on fire. Seeing the impending danger, Father Thomas, more solicitous for the safety of others than for his own, came out of his own accord and surrendered himself into the hands of his pursuers, by whom, in their savage exultation, he was most cruelly beaten, bound with cords, and in that state carried almost lifeless to Drogheda, and there cast into prison, where he was left to languish for a considerable time. Under treatment so harsh he suffered no expression of complaint to escape from his lips; but he bore all with joy, rejoicing to suffer for Christ, and meditating on the words of the Apostle: 'I am apprehended by the Lord.'¹

Among many others imprisoned for the same cause, was a priest of the Order of St. Francis, the Guardian of the Franciscan community in Drogheda. By him Father Thomas was received with extreme joy, and with his assistance succeeded in procuring the sacred habit of the Order, with which he clothed himself in prison. To prepare himself for the conflict, he carefully confessed to this Fran-

¹ Phil. iii. 12.

ciscan Father the faults of his whole life, celebrated Mass daily, thus fortifying himself with the Bread of the Strong. The remainder of the day he spent in comforting and encouraging the Catholic prisoners, in company with the good Franciscan. He devoted the greater part of the night to mental and vocal prayer; he fasted continually, and chastised his body with great severity, in order to detach it from the love of this present life, and lest it should impede his spirit from union with its Lord, to whom he frequently offered the sacrifice of his life. He besought the Blessed Mother of God and all the heavenly citizens to succour him in his struggle.

Early on the morning of the 6th of July, while the Father was offering the Holy Sacrifice, a messenger from the Governor¹ of the town announced to him that he was condemned to be hanged within an hour. Father Thomas received the announcement of his fate unmoved by the fear of death. He thanked God, confessed again, and prepared himself for death. When the time had come, he took a last leave of his fellow-prisoners, implored the assistance of their prayers, and then resigned himself into the hands of the Puritan satellites. These men, strange to say, notwithstanding their abhorrence of all religious garbs and symbols, suffered him to retain his religious habit to the last. Holding a crucifix in one hand and a rosary in the other, he went forth to execution, joyously chanting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. On his way the heretical ministers sought to persuade him to adopt their views; but they were repulsed by the good Father, who, fixing his eyes on his crucifix, asked them to say what might be the true faith of heretics, who believed or disbelieved according as each one liked for himself. 'Rather return,' he said to them, 'to the old faith taught by the Apostles, and hitherto

¹ Lord Moore of Mellifont. See D'Alton's *H. of Drogheda*, ii. 226.

professed by your own nation.' A minister told him that, by authorization of the Governor, he could give him a choice of offices in the army, provided only he would 'repent and not perish.' To this offer Father Thomas answered that his duty was not to hesitate to die for the faith. Towards the end of the journey, the Father was met by an unhappy woman condemned to death for her crimes. Being promised pardon on condition of renouncing her religion, she was grievously tempted to apostatize; but a few earnest words of exhortation from Father Thomas confirmed her in the faith, with the happy result that, having first made public profession of the true faith, she cheerfully faced her doom.

Having reached the scaffold, Father Thomas was commanded to ascend, which he accordingly did, professing the faith aloud in the meantime, and earnestly conjuring all the Catholics present to contend for it manfully unto death. But the Commander, fearing a tumult among the people, ordered the executioner to hasten his work. Not without the intense amazement of the spectators, the rope, although a stout one, snapped, letting Father Thomas fall to the ground, not dead but unconscious. The Catholics attributed this extraordinary circumstance to the intervention of divine Providence, that thus the cause of one unjustly condemned might be vindicated before the vast multitude of people. Scarcely had he revived, when the Commander again ordered him to mount the scaffold; but here again the divine Power showed itself, for the holy confessor ascended without difficulty, and speaking without the least trouble, he appealed to the Puritan officer to state the cause for which he had been condemned to die, protesting that his conscience was his witness that he had done no wrong to any man, nor committed any crime deserving of death. The Puritan replied angrily: 'Why do you ask of me the cause of your condemnation; are you not a Papist, a priest, and a monk?' 'It is so; it is enough,' the Father

replied; 'I am guilty of no crime. Let it therefore appear to all men that I die for the Catholic faith and the religious profession, for which I also die gladly.' The Puritan now reminded him of the Governor's promises; that they yet remained good; that time enough yet remained in which he could change his mind. But when he understood that he was offering suggestions to deaf ears, he ordered the executioner to end his work.

Not only were the Catholics profoundly grieved by the death of the servant of God, but many Protestants as well, who, since they had dissented from the ancient faith under pretext of liberty, considered that to put anyone to death merely on account of his religion was to destroy liberty.

The confessor's body was taken away and interred by the Catholics in the cemetery adjoining the Augustinian convent, recently wrecked by the Puritans. God, to show that He has ever at heart the care of the honour of His servants, caused a brilliant heavenly light to shine over the Carmelite's grave on the following night. The light was visible to the soldiers stationed at one of the gates of the town opposite, as well as to many other persons in the neighbourhood. The soldiers, being of opinion that the light was brought there by Catholics burying their dead, went, forty strong, to the spot in which they thought the light had appeared. In the cemetery they could see no one; all was utter darkness; they were much terrified, and fled. They saw it again when they returned to their station at the gate. The Captain himself next proceeded in the direction of the mysterious light, taking with him fifty men, but only to find the same utter darkness. He immediately fled from the cemetery, terror-stricken, himself bravely leading the way. Having thus failed as a brave soldier, the Captain next, assuming a more puritanical frame of mind, declared with due solemnity that the light must have issued from hell with the devil, who had come to carry

off the Papist's body along with his soul. This irreverent remark having received but scant applause from his comrades, who had not yet quite recovered from their fear, abandoning his infernal theory, the Captain now swore by his Puritan soul that the Papist was not buried there at all. The event showed that in this too he was mistaken, for next morning he visited the grave, and found the body of the friar there calmly reposing. He stripped it of the white mantle and scapular, carried both away with him, and went about relating to all he met his wondrous visions and experiences of the previous eventful night. Another soldier took away the friar's crucifix, which he refused to sell to the Catholics for any price, declaring earnestly that he would cherish it all his life as a most precious memorial of a man who had been unjustly put to death.

1642. GEORGE HALLEY, O.D.C.

(*Ibid.*, p. 206.)

GEORGE HALLEY, in religion Brother Angelus of St. Joseph, was born in Herefordshire, in England, of Catholic parents, by whom he was entrusted for his education to the care of a Carmelite missionary. In the year 1640 he came to Ireland to join the Carmelite Order, being then in the 18th year of his age. As a happy omen of his future destinies, he received the sacred habit of Our Lady on the 5th of May, the feast of St. Angelus, the Carmelite Martyr.

Having completed the noviciate and pronounced the vows of religion, he was sent by his superiors to Drogheda,¹ in the year 1642, to enter upon a course of studies in a house of the Order. It happened that in this year almost all the Catholics were relentlessly driven forth from the

¹ Archdall and De Burgo make no mention of a Carmelite House in Drogheda.

town by the Puritan garrison. Br. Angelus, with a few of his religious brethren, contrived to remain unnoticed for some time, intending to depart as soon as they could do so unobserved. But before he could effect his purpose, he was discovered and thrown into prison, where Protestant ministers left no means untried to make him renounce the Catholic religion; but he remained firm, and continued even to observe the strict abstinence from flesh meat prescribed by the rule of the Order. He was, in consequence, subjected to injury and insult, and constrained to fast on bread and water. The ministers persisted long in fruitless attempts to shake his constancy. At length, in order to put an end to the harassing conflict and to secure himself against danger, he opposed a rigorous and unbroken silence to their vexatious importunities, contenting himself merely with occasionally replying:—'The way of the Lord is immaculate, and the ways of heretics vile.' Throughout this encounter with the heretical ministers, Brother Angelus, like the prophet, ceased not to beseech the Almighty Giver of gifts to grant him perseverance and constancy. He frequently offered to God the sacrifice of his life, and often expressed to his Catholic fellow-prisoners his ardent desire to shed his blood for the faith, in order thus to encourage and sustain them in their hour of trial. All attempts to subdue the constancy of the dauntless friar having entirely failed, Br. Angelus was released from prison. Quitting Drogheda immediately, he set off to join his religious brethren, whether at Ardee¹ or at Athboy² our Annalists do not say. On his way he rested in a certain town, called by one of our Annalists Selanum, probably the present town of Slane; by another, Charigia. While there, the

¹ The convent here was founded by Rudolph Pipard in the reign of Edward I., *Monast.*, p. 450.

² The founder was William De Loundres, in 1317. *Ibid.*, p. 513.

place was attacked by the Puritans under Lord Moore,¹ on August, the 14th, and, being insufficiently provided with gunpowder, was captured by him during the following night.

Brother Angelus, considering that his death was at hand, assisted at Mass in the morning, together with some nuns, who were also at the time flying from their persecutors, and received the Holy Eucharist; after which he earnestly exhorted the nuns to continue steadfast in the faith, to faithfully observe their sacred vows, and, if necessary, to defend them by a glorious death. He then concluded his discourse by offering up his own life to God for the Catholic faith. In order to await the manifestations of the divine will in his regard, he refrained from needlessly or rashly exposing himself, but endeavoured to escape unobserved in the company of the nuns, with whom he appeared before Lord Moore. The nuns were granted their liberty by the Puritan Commander. But not so Brother Angelus; for him the tyrant reserved his frowns, and informed him that no such mercy would be shown to him, whom, he said, he well knew to be an Englishman, a Papist, and a monk, escaped from prison, but who would not escape his hands. Yet, however, one way was left open to him by which he might save his life, namely, to abandon the Papist superstitions and profess the reformed religion; if he followed this advice he should have a sure and high reward. To this Br. Angelus calmly and boldly replied that he had not left his country in order to desert the orthodox faith, which he had imbibed with his mother's milk, and that he would not barter his soul for life or liberty. Lord Moore repeated his promises; but when he found that it was in vain, after

¹ Edward Moore came to Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, and for his services was knighted and received the Abbey of Mellifont, where his descendants resided till they came about 1750 to reside at Monasterevan, inherited from Lord Loftus of Ely. See Archdall's *Peerage*, ii. 92. His son Garret was created Baron Moore in 1615, and Viscount. The above-mentioned was his son Charles, 2nd Viscount.

holding a hurried consultation with his officers, he pronounced sentence of death on Br. Angelus.

The holy confessor received the sentence with joy, glad to suffer death for the faith of his fathers and the religious profession. He only asked as a favour that his execution should not be deferred beyond that day, the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the special patron of his Order. The Puritan, enraged at the mention of Our Lady's name and triumph, told him that his wish would be that day and that very instant gratified, and immediately gave orders to three of his soldiers to shoot him. Brother Angelus was led forth to the place of execution, singing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. An heretical minister interrupted him, and pressed him to adopt his errors; but the soldier of Christ bade him retire, saying, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' Having come to the appointed place, he fell on his knees, and raising his heart to God, he awaited death. The soldiers fired three times at him, but he remained unhurt by the bullets; whereupon, by command of Lord Moore,¹ a soldier despatched him with a sword. The nuns were witnesses of his holy death, and afterwards related all its circumstances to our Fathers. The confessor's body was buried in an obscure spot; but in the course of time it was transferred by the people to their principal church, where it was interred by them with all the sacred rites of Christian burial.

1642. MALACHY SHIELL, O.CIST., AND ANOTHER.

(From Hartry's *Synopsis*, p. 278.)

I WILL set down briefly what I have learned from trustworthy persons. The Rev. Fr. Br. Robert Shiel was born

¹ He was killed by a cannon ball during the siege of Portlester castle, near Trim, in 1643.

in Iveagh, Co. Down, in the province of Ulster. In his youth he was instructed in polite learning and piety. He asked for the habit of the holy Cistercian Order earnestly, and was admitted by the Very Rev. Lord Br. Patrick Barnwell,¹ Abbot, for his own monastery of Mellifont, and was professed under the name of Malachy. His great humility and especially his obedience, in addition to the other gifts of grace of a perfect monk, filled all with wonder. It was the good pleasure of his superior to intrust to Malachy the care of souls within the jurisdiction of the monastery of St. Mary of Newry, then without a pastor or any one to care them. This duty he discharged for seven years with another monk of his Order, Br. Malachy O'Kea, to the great satisfaction of the people. When his brother in religion died, a secular priest, a relative of his, was joined with him. About that time the Scots,² united with the English in armed bodies, with incredible fury almost depopulated Ulster and advanced to the town of Newry, where the noble ruins of the monastery³ are still to be seen. Our F. Malachy laboured the whole day with his fellow-priest to keep up the courage of the Governor for the defence of the place and especially of the very strong castle on behalf of the Catholics. All of a sudden the enemy got possession of the gate of the town. Fr. Malachy and the priest entered the castle, and urged with all their might the captain and the soldiers to defend the stronghold for the sake of the church of their fathers and for the honour of their country. Fear, dread, and trembling seized on the captain, and he treacherously betrayed the castle, though it was strong and well manned. It is said he was promised

¹ See an account of him in *Triumphalia*, p. 283.

² Monroe came to Ireland in April, 1642, with 2,500 Scotch. Leslie came in the following August. The Scotch troops in Ulster amounted then to 10,000 men.

³ Founded for Cistercians about 1150 by Maurice MacLoughlin, King of Ireland. See *Triumphalia*, Introd. xlv. There is no trace of it remaining.

quarter for himself, his soldiers, and the priests. But it turned out quite differently. For as soon as the enemy got possession of the place, they seized both the priests and threw them into prison, and that very night they were condemned to death deliberately.

On the following day, therefore, which was the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross,¹ in the year of our salvation 1642, Fr. Malachy was hanged quite naked from the beams of a wooden bridge. The soldiers then fired two shots at him while he was half-dead. The secular priest was only hanged. The bodies of the martyrs were thrown into the river that flowed by. Very soon after they were found on the bank and buried by the Catholics in clean winding-sheets. But the same night the soldiers stripped the bodies of their covering, leaving them naked above ground. Afterwards they were allowed to be buried in the cemetery of the monastery. It is worth remarking that when Br. Malachy was being led in chains to the place of execution, looking round at the soldiers who had the rope and the guns ready, in his joy he burst into a laugh; and when the executioners in wonder asked why he laughed, he replied: 'I rejoice at the things that were said to me: we shall go into the house of the Lord!' While engaged in prayer, and with joy in his heart, he received the prize of martyrdom. O'Mellan says: 'Rory O'Shiel, a monk of the Order of St. Bernard, and a priest, was executed, and thrown from the bridge of Newry into the sea.'²

The above narrative is confirmed by a letter³ of Monroe, bearing date May 15th, 1642, addressed to Leslie. After describing the capture of Newry he says: 'We entered into examination of the townsmen if all were papists; and the indifferent being severed from the bad,

¹ May 4th.

² Irish MS., in the library of the R. I. Academy, 23. H. 7.

³ *Aphor. Disc.*, iii. 196.

whereof sixty with two priests were shot and hanged.¹ So too Colonel Henry O'Neill in his *Relation*: 'Newry was surrendered upon the first summons by a fresh-water Governor upon mercy, which proved so merciless that a great many of the clergy and laity were hanged, killed, and drowned about the bridge of the town.'²

1642. CORNELIUS O'BRIEN.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 699.)

HE was lord of Carrick,³ in Co. Kerry, a man of good family and great promise. While in the castle of Glynn, which was the residence of John Fitzgerald, not far from the banks of the Shannon, he was seized by some of Forbes' soldiers and carried on board his ship. When neither promises nor threats could make him fall away from the faith, he was put to death in the same way and at the same time as F. Ward,⁴ and so obtained the bliss of heaven. Both were hanged together one from each end of the yard, and afterwards when the tide rose their bodies were let down with ropes into the water. He suffered death in 1642.

1642. HILARY CONROY, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 727.)

HE was born of noble parents in the Co. Roscommon. Having finished the study of humanities, he chose a more perfect life in the profession of evangelical poverty, which was observed very strictly in the convent of Elphin; this

¹ Appendix to *Aphor. Disc.*, i. 421.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 127.

³ Perhaps of Carrigogunnell, on the Shannon, five miles below Limerick.

⁴ See p. 275, *antea*.

was the house of the Order in which he made his noviciate. The Fathers were satisfied with his courtesy, humility, piety, and learning, and promoted him to the priesthood. The pious manner of life of the brethren pleased him very much, and to conform to it, he went out one day to make the quest through the neighbourhood by order of the Guardian. This man, most gentle, and poor for Christ's sake, was seized on the road by that merciless tyrant Charles Coote,¹ and by his order taken to Castlecoote and hanged there in the year 1642.

In the Journal of Henry Jones, Protestant Bishop of Meath,² and Scoutmaster General³ of the army of the parliament, we find under the date Friday, March 22nd, 1650, 'Colonel Hammond, Governor of the castle (of Gowran, Co. Kilkenny), was, with Major Townley, and Captain Cary, shot to death, and a Franciscan Friar found in the place hanged; his name was Hilary Conry. He was chaplain to Ormond's regiment.'⁴

1642. FRANCIS O'MOHUNY,⁵ O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 699.)

HE was a native of Cork, and a bright and shining light of the Order of St. Francis. Having completed his studies in Spain and Belgium, he returned to his native country during the reign of King James, and did much to promote the

¹ He was killed at the siege of Trim in 1642, having been shot by one of his own men, whether by design or accident was never known. He was interred in Dublin, 'floods of English tears accompanying him to the grave.' Borlase's *Rebellion*, p. 79, and *Aphor. Disc.*, i. 32. Carte tells of his cruelty, *Life of Ormonde*, i. 245.

² See Ware's *Bishops*, p. 160.

³ 'A post not so decent for one of his function,' *Ibid.*

⁴ *Journal R. S. A. I.* for March, 1893. This is surely the same person mentioned by Bruodin.

⁵ He is also called Mathew and Mathews.

glory of God, the salvation of the Catholic people, and the increase of the Seraphic Order. When somewhat advanced in years, he was twice Minister-General of the Irish Province, twice Commissary-General, and lastly Guardian of the College of St. Antony, at Louvain.

While Guardian in Cork, in the year 1642, he was seized by the heretical Governor of the city¹ and cast into prison. A few days after he was examined. He declared that he was a Franciscan; but he denied what he was charged with, namely, that he had attempted to betray the city to the Catholics. His firm attachment to the faith was put to the test in many ways. The executioners covered all this aged man's fingers, first with canvas, then with pitch; and between each finger they put a pitch candle, and lighted it so that all his fingers were set on fire together. I happened to be in my native country at the time. While his fingers were on fire in this way, and he was exhorting the Catholics who were standing by to constancy, and the heretics to repentance, a preacher, wondering at the extraordinary patience of the martyr, asked him whether he felt any pain. 'Put one of your fingers close to mine,' replied Francis, 'and you will see.' When all his fingers were burnt away to the very last joint, the cruel tyrant condemned him to be hanged. The man of God returned thanks, as well as he could, to his Saviour, and proceeded to the place of execution as if he was going to a feast. Having exhorted the people, he mounted the ladder with joy. The rope was put round his neck. He prepared himself piously for death, and again addressed the people. Then turning to the executioner, he bade him do his duty. He was thrown

¹ The reference is, no doubt, to Sir William St. Leger, who by proclaiming himself a royalist, got possession of the city, and perpetrated great cruelties on the Catholic citizens. See Moran's *Persecutions*, p. 74.

from the ladder, and remained hanging from eleven o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon.

Every Catholic in the city was either a relative or a friend and acquaintance of Francis; one sister, two nephews, and four nieces were living there. Some of these, persons of high position, went to the heretical Governor and asked him to allow the dead body of the priest to be taken down from the gallows and buried in the tomb of a friend, with the ceremonies usual among Catholics. The Governor, though more cruel than Pilate, assented. Wherefore, taking the body down from the gallows, his friends carried it to the house of Francis' sister, and clothing it in the habit of the Order, and laying it on a table, with lighted candles all round, they kept watch with great devotion round the deceased martyr of Christ.

About two o'clock in the morning, while the Catholics, who had come in crowds to the house, were praying, F. Francis made some movement, and looking at his sister and the others who were standing near, he bade them put away all fear, and take him down from the table. His friends drew near, and found that he was alive and in full health, and they congratulated him and one another that he had escaped the hands of the executioners by this extraordinary aid from God.

'It is not so, my dearest friends,' said Francis, restored to life; 'for my soul happily released from the prison of my body, must again return to it by the command of God, who desires the salvation of heretics straying here and elsewhere from the true path. Call to me, therefore, the Governor of the city, that I may once more set before him the message of salvation.' All the Catholics who were present, besought the Father with tears to abstain from such a useless task, and entreated him to retire to some hiding-place, that he might afford them the consolations of religion. 'It is God's will,' said Francis, 'which no Chris-

tian should oppose, that I should set before him the words of life. Call the Governor then, and the other officers of the army, or I, weak though I am, will go into his presence.'

The Catholics, urged on by the command of F. Francis, sent word to the Governor that the Father was alive and in good health. The tyrant was thunderstruck at the message, and with a strong body of soldiers and all the chief officials, hastened to the house where Francis was. When the Father saw this man who was rebellious against God and man, surrounded by his Puritan followers, he stood up, and set before them, with his usual zeal, how the God of mercy was anxious for their salvation. In fine, he warned the erring heretics to put away their errors and to return to the bosom of holy Church their mother. The Governor, hardened in his sin, on hearing this salutary exhortation, flew into a passion, as tyrants do, and immediately ordered that the Papist who, by his magic art, had remained alive after hanging for so many hours, should be hanged anew in the very spot where he was, with the Franciscan girdle which he was wearing. The executioners came up; they were then, for the first time, chosen from among the heretics who were standing near, for among the soldiers of the English Puritans it is reckoned no disgrace for any one of them, except their captain, to act as the executioner of a Catholic, and especially of a priest. Attaching the girdle to the beam that was supporting the ceiling of the room in which the Father was, they hanged him, and broke his neck. He was left hanging the whole night, and Puritan soldiers were appointed to keep guard over the body. Hundreds of persons are living to this day who were then in Cork, and witnessed what I have described. I do not remember the Governor's name; if I did, I should set it down, to his everlasting disgrace. The next day the body of the deceased was taken down reverently by the Catholics

and buried in the Church of the Minorites, in the year 1642.

1642. RAYMOND KEOGHY, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.)

THIS year F. Keoghy, of the Convent of Roscommon,² was seized by the heretics and put to death through hatred of the Catholic faith, and so found eternal life in death.

The Acts of the General Chapter of 1644 make mention of another of this name, who, De Burgo thinks, must be a different person from the above, for the one was a priest, the other a laybrother.

See also O'Heyne.

1642. STEPHEN PETTIT,¹ O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1644.)

WHILST he was encouraging the Catholics in the faith, and in the midst of war and battles was looking to the welfare of their souls and discharging the office of confessor at the same time in a praiseworthy manner, he was struck by a bullet, in a battle against the heretics, and so exchanged life for death. O'Daly adds he was prior of Mullingar,⁴ and that while he was engaged at Ballenacorra in hearing the confession of a soldier going into the fight, he was caught sight of by one of the garrison of a neighbouring castle, who

¹ See *Hib. Dou.*, p. 562.

² Founded by Phelim O'Connor, King of Connacht in 1253, whose tomb is there. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³ De Burgo thinks there were two of this name also, who were killed in the same way, one of the convent of Atheury, the other of Mullingar. The first, he says, suffered death in 1642, the other in 1651. *Ibid.*, pp. 562 and 570.

⁴ Founded in 1237 by the Pettit family, barons palatine of Mullingar; De Burgo thinks by the Nugents. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

fired at him and wounded him mortally. He died the next day of the wound.

See also O'Daly.

1642. CORMAC EGAN, O.P.

(*Ibid.* p. 563.)

HE was a laybrother of the Dominican Order. He was hanged by the heretics about this time.

1642. PHILIP CLERY.

(From the *MS. History of the Irish College, Rome*.¹)

A PUPIL who died for the faith, Philip Clery, was admitted October 25th, 1632. He left the college on October 3rd, 1640, after completing his course of studies both of philosophy and of theology with unusual diligence and success. He is said to have been somewhat restless (*nonnihil inquietus*) in the College. But he wiped out that stain, of whatever kind it was, in a noble way, two years after, by a precious death in Ireland, where he was slain by the heretics.

1643. PETER OF THE MOTHER OF GOD, O.D.C.

(From *Decor Carmeli*, p. 151.)

THE blessed death of Brother Peter of St. Andrew occurred in the early part of the year 1643, in the city of Dublin, where, probably, he was born. At first he was attached, as a servant, to the residence of the Carmelite missionaries, to whom he gave his services gratis. After a time, on account

¹ In the Archives of the Roman College; lib. i. fol. 72 b.

of his singular probity and prudence, he was associated to the Order as a laybrother. The attempt made by the Catholic army to gain possession of Dublin having proved unsuccessful, the fury of the dominant sectaries thereupon burst forth, in revenge and retaliation, against the inhabitants of the city. The members of the religious Orders, at all times the chief objects of the hatred of the heretics, were now especially sought for, on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection. Several were seized and imprisoned; some were put to death.

During these events, the Carmelite Fathers, driven from their convent, which was changed into a theatre, left the city. A few only remained behind, to afford by stealth what assistance and consolation they could to the afflicted Catholics. Brother Peter was among the number. He succeeded in eluding his pursuers until the commencement of the month of March, when he was apprehended and thrown into prison, together with several other Catholics. Here, in a short time, the hardships to which he was subjected brought on a severe illness. During an exchange of prisoners, Brother Peter's doom was unintentionally accelerated by the great eagerness for his release betrayed by the Catholic side; for the heretics, perceiving that he was regarded by them as a person of importance, instantly resolved on his destruction, and, in tumultuous Puritan fashion, adjudged him guilty of the awful crime of being a monk, and one who should consequently be exterminated. Brother Peter was condemned to be hanged, and forthwith an emissary was despatched to apprise him of his fate. On the 25th of March, the festival of the Annunciation, the fatal sentence was conveyed to him, when he was sick in bed. The good Brother received it with incredible joy, and congratulating the Mother of God on the high dignity to which she was on that day raised, and commending himself to her powerful protection, he at once arose from his bed, say-

ing: 'From the cross, not from the bed, I must go to heaven.' But presently he was convulsed, and overwhelmed with the fear of death, as if the Almighty, who is the strength of the weak, withdrew His arm for an instant, thus to convince His servant how indispensable is the need of His help to weak mortals in the hour of trial. Brother Peter, prostrate in the agony of his soul before God, confessed his utter helplessness, and implored the divine assistance. He did not pray in vain. His fellow-captives besought him to return to his bed, in the hope that his jailers might be moved by his malady to defer, if not altogether abandon, his execution in the course of time. But their advice, more apt to soothe than to overcome the natural infirmity of the flesh, was made use of by God for the perfecting of His work. The Almighty now poured an abundance of His strengthening grace into the soul of His humble servant, and gave new and marvellous speech to his tongue. 'Why, my friends, do you counsel me such things?' said Brother Peter. 'Encourage me rather, weak and cowardly man that I am; urge me to the combat, and pray God in my behalf that He may be pleased to bring me forth victorious from the prison of this rebellious flesh. I must die for Jesus Christ; I must die now, lest perhaps the delaying of death should imperil the victory. He will give the victory; He will anoint His soldier, and I, in the feebleness of my heart, will confess His name, to whom victory is due.'

Having thus addressed his fellow-prisoners, they recited together the rosary and litany. He now testified to the peace which possessed his heart by frequent and fervent acts of virtue, and by the voluntary oblation of his life to God. With a cheerful countenance he received the band of satellites who came to conduct him to the place of execution; and being too feeble to walk thither unassisted, he proceeded, leaning for support on their arms, to the scaffold, which was erected in the centre of the city for the greater confusion

of the Catholics. An heretical minister who had joined himself to him on his way to the gallows, interrupted him while he was reciting the Angelical Salutation, and with fair words urged him to suffer death with equanimity for God; to invoke Christ, but not Christ's Mother, who, he said, cannot hear our prayers; and finally, to abjure Popish superstitions, thus to open to himself a way to glory. 'I have been reared in the holy Roman and Catholic faith,' replied the servant of God, 'which is the only true faith; in it I am resolved to die. Cease your silly talk about the Mother of God. I agree with all Catholics; from you and yours I will ever differ.' Having thus spoken, he continued the recitation of his prayer. The minister spun out a web of Scripture texts, after the usual fashion of heretics, only to be interrupted by Brother Peter telling him that he did not know what he was saying, but that he had no doubt he was counselling heresy. 'I firmly believe,' Brother Peter continued, 'in the communion of saints, which would be vain if they did not hearken to us when invoked. But because you calumniate the Mother of God, who was on this day saluted by the Angel, tell me, have you ever read her Canticle of the "Magnificat"?'" 'Come now,' replied the minister, 'give us some outlandish exposition.' 'Either you have not read it, or you have read it badly,' said the Brother. 'The Holy Ghost,' he continued, 'predicted, through the mouth of Mary, that all generations of the faithful and of true believers should call her blessed; that is, they would bless her. Hence you and yours do not bless her, because you are not of them.' At these inspired words the minister became silent, and Brother Peter intoned the canticle, and sang it through. These sublime words, uttered by an illiterate man to confound the vain deceits of the prattling minister, were a source of confusion to him, but a source of consolation to the Catholics, who beheld the arrogant sectary pierced with the arrows of little ones.

Having reached the place of execution, fatigued and exhausted, the valiant soldier of Christ, kneeling, kissed the ground and the scaffold, then climbed the ladder. Briefly addressing the commanding officer, he said to him: 'I am brought to this gibbet condemned for no crime, nor do I know the cause. Although I am a sinner, I have done nothing against men deserving of death. I therefore die for the Catholic faith and for the monastic profession.' You act foolishly,' the officer answered. 'We are fools for Christ's sake,' said Brother Peter, who now commenced to make fervent acts of faith, hope, and charity, on the scaffold, until, with his last breath, he gave up his spirit to God. He was in the thirty-third year of his age. The Catholics carried away the body, and gave it Christian burial in a place apart, returning thanks to God, who had been thus pleased to confirm the faith by a new testimony, and thus to open to the humble a way to His kingdom.

In the year 1647 a General Chapter of the Order was held in Rome for the election of Superiors, at which three Irish Fathers were to be present; but only one of them, Father Cyril of St. Joseph, the Socius, arrived, after having narrowly escaped being captured by the heretics. Besides historical documents relating to the Irish Province, he also carried with him, leaving Ireland, the juridical acts relating to the glorious death of the Carmelite Friars. Having fallen into the English enemy's hands, by whom he was pursued across the seas, he was constrained, in order to save himself, not merely to disguise his sacred profession and his nationality, but also to throw all his precious papers overboard. The Fathers assembled in Rome, learning what had occurred, at once commissioned the Irish Provincial to again procure juridical informations respecting the death of the three friars from surviving eye-witnesses; but the disturbed state of those times rendered impossible all attempts to execute the commission entrusted to the

Provincial. The eye-witnesses of their noble conflict passed away one by one; nor did the succeeding years bring peace to Irish Catholics, who, about this time, had to suffer trials and persecutions of the most galling kind, and to drink the bitter cup of Calvary to the dregs. The Puritan wolves were then abroad amongst them, ferociously flaying and devouring them. About this time, too, the storm of persecution may be said to have assumed the terrible proportions of a tempest of blood; the demon of Puritanism swept over the land, revelling in shedding the blood of Irish papists, in burning their homes, and in plundering their property. Bishops and priests, secular and regular alike, were hunted down like wild beasts, imprisoned, driven into exile, or put to death. Our forefathers endured that long and merciless war against their religion and country like true soldiers of Christ, covering both with imperishable glory, and securing for themselves an immortal crown.

In the following year the Discalced Carmelites presented a petition to the Pope asking to be allowed to accept a gift of the ruins of a convent of the Grand Carmelites, which had been abandoned for more than a hundred years; they begin by stating that the heretics had put to death three of the Religious of their Order.¹

1644 CORNELIUS O'CONNOR AND EUGENE DALY, O.SS. TRIN.

(From Lopez *Noticias*, pp. 62 and 584.)

BROTHER CORNELIUS O'CONNOR was born in the town of Adare of noble parents, who were descended from the founders of our convent there. After studying grammar in his native town he went to France, where he devoted

¹ *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 308.

some years to philosophy and theology. He was ordained priest in due time, and celebrated his first Mass at Bordeaux in the presence of the Duchess of Guillon, who had supplied him with the means of support during his studies. He went from Bordeaux to Paris and asked our Father General, Br. Louis Petit,¹ to give him the habit of the Order, and to allow him to return to Ireland that he might re-establish the convent which his ancestors had founded.

The F. General did not wish to act with undue haste. Wherefore he sent Cornelius to Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick,² to whom he gave the power to invest him with the habit, and he besought his Lordship to aid him, if he thought it well to do so, in getting back the convent. He set out with this letter, and landed in England. On his way to London, he consoled and encouraged the Catholics whom he fell in with, and when he reached that city he continued the same good work. Some heretics who saw that Cornelius was a stranger, and found him hearing the confession of a Catholic, seized him and would have killed him on the spot if they did not think they could induce him to join in their heresy.

One of the heretics who came to the prison in which he was confined, hearing he was a youth of comely appearance, and an Irishman of a noble family, asked him to abandon the Catholic faith, and offered him, if he would do so, one of his two daughters, whichever he pleased, as wife, with a rich dowry. In case of refusal he would surely suffer death. Cornelius replied that he would not abandon the Catholic faith, nor defile the holiness of his priestly office. The heretics went to the Governor of the city and asked to have the sentence of death carried out. Cornelius was taken to the place of execution, but just as the executioner

¹ Minister General of the Trinitarian Order from 1612 to 1652.

² Bishop of that See from 1623 to 1646. See Lenihan's *H. of Limerick*, p. 587.

was about to fulfil his office, through the secret agency of some Catholic, a messenger arrived from the King, ordering his life to be spared, on condition that he would quit the kingdom. He set out for Ireland, and on his way learned that his mother was a martyr, having been put to death for being a Catholic. When he reached Limerick, he presented himself to the Bishop and received from him the religious habit; he was encouraged by his Lordship to make an effort to recover the monastery for his Order. He passed some time at Adare, preaching to the Catholics and consoling them. But finding the heretics who were in possession of the monastery unwilling to restore it to its rightful owners, he determined to return to France in order to make his solemn profession there.

He made known his purpose to a young man, a virtuous Catholic, of the same town, named Robert Eugene Daly, and he offered to accompany Br. Cornelius. They set off for France. The General of the Order sent them to the convent of Claremont, the one to receive the habit, the other to make his year of noviciate. After nine months' stay there, they were ordered to come to Paris, where they lived for three months; at the end of this time the General, satisfied with their progress in virtue, ordered that both should be admitted to make their profession.

From Paris they were sent to Spain, where they succeeded in obtaining permission to establish a convent in which young Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Englishmen should be trained in the religious state. They then set sail for their native country. When within sight of the coast of England, their vessel was captured by an English heretical pirate named John Plunket.¹ One of those on the Catholic

¹ The San Pietro in which Rinuccini came to Ireland, was pursued by Plunket, and obliged to put into Kenmare bay, though the Nuncio wished to land at Waterford. See *Nunciatura*, p. 64, and Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, i. 361.

ship, to save his life at the expense of his soul, gave the information that Br. Cornelius and Br. Eugene, who wore a secular dress, were religious and Catholic priests going to Ireland to preach the Catholic faith. Plunket asked both of them whether the information which he had received was true, and both replied it was. The heretic first tried to bring them over to his heresy, and when he could not effect his purpose either by promises or by threats, he put round their necks a rope to which heavy weights were attached, and in mockery said: 'You who believe in purgatory think you can pass through fire to heaven. Now if you hope to go to heaven, it must be by water.' Then he threw them into the sea. They were put to death on January 11th, 1644.

The following letter was written by F. Christopher Burgatt,¹ O.P. 'By these let all know that I, Christopher Burgatt, of the Order of Preachers, declare and testify that I saw the Rev. Father Cornelius O'Connor, of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity, when returning from Spain to Ireland, and another Father of the same Order, named Robert of Adare; both were captured by heretics and cast into the sea, through hatred of the Catholic faith by the famous heretic John Plunket in the year 1643.² Given in the convent of St. Dominick of Malactan, January 26th, 1643.'³

1644. CHRISTOPHER DONLEVY,⁴ O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 699.)

HE was a religious of the Order of St. Francis. Having

¹ He is not mentioned in *Hib. Dom.*

² The difference of date is only apparent, one writer using the new style, the other the old.

³ Lopez says he had in his possession a print of these martyrs with an inscription recording their death as above. *Noticias*, p. 62.

⁴ The Irish name of Ultach, *i.e.*, Ulsterman, is often given to members of this family.

finished his studies with success in Spain, he fed the people of Ulster for many years with the bread of life by preaching to them with great eloquence. He fell into the hands of the cruel pirate Forbes in the same way and at the same time as F. Ward spoken of above.¹ To make the London murderers share in the prey, Forbes sent F. Donlevy immediately to England. He was cast into Newgate prison in London, and there, after three years' imprisonment, during which time he endured endless hardships inflicted on him through hatred of the faith, he gave up his soul to his Creator in the year 1644.

1645. EDMUND MULLIGAN, O.CIST.

(From Hartry's *Triumphalia*, p. 281.)

THE English and Scotch, uniting their forces for the extirpation of the Catholics throughout the province of Connaught, came into the territory of M'Kenna,² near Ballyeroin,³ with a great army. The Catholics were forced to fly, and with them the R. F. Br. Edmund Mulligan, the oldest of the Cistercian monks in Ireland. When those who discovered him drew their swords to kill him, he cried out, 'I am a priest.' On hearing this they were roused to greater fury, and through hatred of his sacred office they slew him with many thrusts, and he was crowned with the palm of martyrdom in heaven, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1645, in the month of July, in the seventy-second year of his age.

¹ See p. 275, *antea*.

² Now the barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan.

³ Three miles east of Clones.

1645. MALACHY O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

(From Bruodin's *Propug.*, pp. 562 and 713.)

MALACHY O'QUEELY,¹ the glory of Thomond and of the cathedral church of Tuam, was born of pious Catholic parents in Thomond. Having finished his study of humanities in his native country, he went to Paris. There he made such progress that in due time he was admitted a Doctor of the Sorbonne. Urban VIII. was at this time Pope. Hearing of Malachy's great virtue he appointed him Vicar General of the diocese of Killaloe, his native country, and later, Archbishop of Tuam.² It would be too long to relate here the virtues by which he gained universal esteem both in Connaught and in Munster. Everyone who conversed with him, became his friend. No one was more humble, more devout, more zealous in advancing the cause of the faith, of the King, and of his country. He was the father, protector, and advocate of the poor, of widows, and of the oppressed. Seeing these great qualities united with rare prudence, the Supreme Council³ appointed him to aid General Taaffe by his advice. He was captured by the Scotch near the town of Sligo.⁴ Though they had promised to spare his life, they first cut off his right hand; and then cut his body into small pieces.

On October 31st, 1645, the Abbot of Kilmannack wrote to the Warden of Galway: 'Here is a true tragedy of the unhappy expedition to Sligo, viz.: Last Sunday in the afternoon, our forces, after taking the Abbey of Sligo, and hearing of the approach of Coote with a strong relief from

¹ The Irish form of the name is O'Cadhla.

² He was consecrated in 1631. See *Franc. Mon.*, pp. 119 and 343.

³ He was one of the twenty-four members of this Council, appointed in 1642 to carry on the government of the country.

⁴ At Cleveragh. See O'Rourke's *History of Sligo*, i. 169.

the north, began to march back to Sligo; and then they beat the enemy that day as the day before; yet a few horse of the said enemy put them shamefully to flight; in which flight my Lord Archbishop, Father Teige Connell, Father Augustine Higgins, with other clergymen, were pitifully killed and mangled, and so left in this way near Sligo. General Taaffe sent a trumpeter to Sligo, and got news on the 27th instant, that the Scots will not part with my Lord Archbishop's body without getting out of it thirty pounds sterling.¹ Maurice Lynch, a Captain of the Confederate army, clothed the body in the sacred vestments, and conveyed it to Tuam, where the solemn funeral office was celebrated by vast numbers of the clergy and people. When later his remains were disturbed to allow some one else to be buried in the grave, they were reburied by Lady Francis Dillon, wife of Francis, Baron of Athenry.² Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, wrote: 'He ended his life worthily by gaining in heaven a reward corresponding to the greatness of his merits.'³

There is in the possession of the Parish Priest of Ballyglass, Co. Mayo, a chalice, paten, cruets, and basin, all of silver—gilt and richly enamelled, which belonged to the Archbishop, as may be seen by the inscription on the chalice: Malachias O Queleus, Arpus. Tuamens. me FF. A. 1637. D.; and another on the cruets, M.A.T.

See also Molanus and Lynch.⁴

1645. TADHG O'CONNELL, O.S.A.

(Ibid., p. 718.)

F. TADHG O'CONNELL, of the Canons of St. Augustine, was

¹ Burke's *History of the Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 137.

² Lynch, *De Pres. Hib.*, ii. 752.

³ Letter to Cardinal Panfilio, from Kilkenny, Nov. 20th, 1645.—*Nunziatura*, p. 69.

⁴ This writer calls him 'felicissimæ memoriæ martyr.' *Icon Antistitis*, pref. iv.

for six years Dr. O'Queely's companion. He was seized at the same time as the Archbishop, and carried off to be executed. He besought the Archbishop to give him absolution; and as the Prelate raised his right hand to do so, the soldiers cut it off, and at the same moment struck down F. O'Connell.

1645. HENRY WHITE.

(*Ibid.*, p. 731.)

HE was a native of Leinster. This pious priest laboured for many years for the salvation of souls. In the 80th year of his age, while engaged in administering the sacrament of penance to the faithful in the village of Ballynacor¹ in Leinster, he was seized by the heretics of Dublin, and, through hatred of the faith and of his priestly calling, without any regard for his advanced age or his innocence, was hanged in the town of Racconnell by order of Charles Coote,² the Governor of Dublin, in the year 1645.

THE MASSACRE OF CASHEL.

IN 1647 Morrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, led his army against Cashel. During the whole of his march from Co. Limerick to that place he massacred the peasants whom he fell in with, and burned their houses and crops. To this day his memory is held in abhorrence, and the name by which he is still known throughout Munster, Morrough na dtoitean, *i.e.*, Morrough of the Burnings, shows how indelible the impression made by his cruelties is. On September 14th he came before the town. We have an account from

¹ A little to the west of the hill of Uisneach, in West Meath.

² The younger, a most merciless enemy of the Irish during the whole of the war of 1641. At the Restoration he received large grants of lands, and was made Earl of Mountrath.

several of his contemporaries of the appalling tragedy that took place there. The following narrative¹ was written by the Superior of the Jesuit mission in Ireland at the time:—

'Cashel became not only a prey to the enemy, but a very slaughter-house. The city being badly fortified, surrendered on terms to Inchiquin and opened its gates. The garrison, about 300 in number, together with the priests and religious, and also very many of the citizens, withdrew to the cathedral, which occupies a strong position, being built on the Rock of St. Patrick. The enemy having taken possession of the town and burned a part of it, attacked the cathedral with all their might, but they were beaten back by our troops. After a long combat the Commander of the enemy suspended the fighting, and demanding a surrender, offered permission to the garrison to depart with their arms and ammunition and all the honours of war, requiring, however, that the citizens and the clergy should be surrendered to his mercy. It was then that the true heroism of the Catholic soldiers was seen. They refused to listen to any conditions unless the citizens and clergy, whom they had undertaken to defend, should share in them. And they added that they would rather offer up their lives to God on that Rock of St. Patrick, than allow the sanctuary to be profaned by heretics. The assault was then renewed with extreme ferocity. The enemy, 7,000 in number, attacked the church on every side, entering by the windows and shattered doors. Nevertheless, for some time the struggle was maintained bravely within the church, till our few troops were rather overwhelmed by the multitude of the enemy than vanquished by them.

'When all resistance ceased, then the cruelty of the heretics was displayed against the priests and religious. Many old men and aged females, besides innumerable other citizens, whose only weapons were their prayers, prostrate around the steps of the altar, as well as the infirm, who had been borne to the church as to a place of sacred refuge, and the innocent children, were slain at the very altar.

'Within the Cathedral the number of the slain was 912, of whom more than 500 were heretical soldiers, and about 400 Catholics. Everywhere dead bodies were to be seen, which remained without interment for some days. The altars and chapels, the sacristy and the seats, were covered with them, and nowhere could the foot

¹ The Latin original will be found in *Spic. Ossor.*, ii. 60. Another account by F. Saul, S.J., is given in *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 388. See also Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 54, and Rinuccini's *Nunciatura*, p. 416.

rest save on the corpses. In the town itself no fewer than 3,000 were massacred by the heretical enemy; twenty priests were martyred within the sanctuary. In St. Patrick's Chapel a number of helpless females who had gathered around the statue of the Saint, were there put to death barbarously.

1647. RICHARD BARRY, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

IN this year F. Richard Barry, a native of Cork, prior of Cashel, and preacher, fought the good fight successfully. The heretics seized him, and reserved him for still greater punishment after they had slain the rest of the ecclesiastics and a great number of laymen. He was asked to cast away the religious habit which he wore, and to join their heretical service, and he answered fearlessly: 'This habit of mine represents the spoils of Christ, and His Passion, and it is the standard of my warfare.' When he had said this, while the fire was preparing, he was exposed to the mockery of the insolent soldiers; the fire was put round him, and his body was scorched for about two hours. All this time, in the midst of his torture, he did not cease to exhort the faithful people to perseverance, and he besought them to commend his soul to God. He was run through with a sword, and so gave up his soul to God on the 15th of September. His body was taken away at nightfall, and buried in his own convent.

See also O'Daly, Lynch, Bruodin, and O'Heyne.

1647. WILLIAM BOYTON, S.J.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 715).

AMONG the hundreds of Catholics who were cruelly slain

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 553.

by the heretics at Cashel in the very church dedicated to St. Patrick, persons of every age and sex, who were gathered round the high altar wearing rosaries round their necks, and who stained its pavement with their blood, was that excellent and very religious man, F. William Boyton, of the Society of Jesus, a native of Munster. When the last hour was approaching, he was engaged in administering the sacraments to the Catholic people, as a good physician should, exhorting them to remain firm in the true faith. While so employed, he was pierced through with a sword by an heretical soldier in a frenzy of anger. He died at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, September 13th, 1647.

See also Alegambe, Tanner, and Lynch.

1647. RICHARD BUTLER, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anatomicum Examen*, p. 263.)

HE was a learned theologian and a zealous preacher. This great glory of his illustrious family, with hundreds of others both ecclesiastics and laymen, at the time that the Parliamentarians held sway in Munster and captured the city of Cashel, took refuge in the cathedral church. He was pierced through with a sword at the high altar, and so obtained the crown of martyrdom.

See also Lynch.

1647. THEOBALD STAPLETON, EDWARD STAPLETON, THEOBALD STAPLETON, THOMAS MORRISSY, AND TWO VICARS CHORAL.

(From Lynch's *De Pers. Hib.*, ii., 497.)

THESE six ecclesiastics also were put to death at the same time. Theobald Stapleton was Chancellor of the

Church. Thomas Morrissy was bedridden by reason of his great age. Another Theobald Stapleton, author of an Irish Catechism,¹ was put to death at the same time.

1647. JAMES SAUL, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 264.)

HE was a Franciscan laybrother. He was put to death at the same time and place as those mentioned above and so obtained the bliss of heaven.

See also Lynch.

1648. GERALD FITZGERALD AND DAVID FOX, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.²)

ONE stormy night the troops of the heretics all of a sudden burst into our convent of Kilmallock,³ which is outside the walls and beyond the bridge, thinking, no doubt, they would make a great slaughter of the brethren. Some of these escaped. They found, however, two, namely, Gerald Fitzgerald, a cleric, and David Fox, a laybrother, kneeling before the high altar in prayer, with their rosaries round their necks. They ran them through with their swords, and as they lay in their blood, their brains were blown out with musket-shots.

¹ It was published at Brussels in 1639.

² *Hib. Dom.*, p. 565.

³ Founded in 1291 by Gilbert, second son of John, baron of Offaly, and ancestor of the White Knight. *Ibid.*, p. 284. The church is still standing.

1648. ANDREW HICKEY, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.* p. 161.)

THIS religious, a native of Thomond, was a man of very holy life. At this time he was employed as a preacher in the convent of Adare. The rebels¹ meeting him, while wearing his religious habit, at a short distance from the convent,² strangled him with a rope, through hatred of the Catholic faith.

1648.³ DONALD O'NEAGHEN, O.P.

(From O'Heyne's *Epilogus*, p. 45.)

HE was a laybrother of the convent of Roscommon. He was most observant of rule; and in the midst of persecution he continued to wear the habit of the Order publicly. His devotion to the Blessed Virgin was such that he always carried the rosary in his hand. He was first scourged by order of the officer who had command of the garrison, and then pierced through with a sword. A true Israelite in whom there was no guile.

Other religious of this convent endured various kinds of sufferings; I have not learned their names; I leave them to be recorded in the Book of Life.

1648 (?) BERNARD HORUMLEY, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 262.)

HE was a priest of the Order of St. Francis, who was employed in preaching. He was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians and carried to Drogheda. He was hanged there and so deserved the crown of martyrdom.

¹ *i.e.*, the Cromwellians, then in rebellion against the King.

² Founded in 1464, by Thomas, 7th Earl of Kildare, and his wife, Joanna, daughter of James, 7th Earl of Desmond. The greater part of the building is still standing. See *Franc. Mon.*, p. 24.

³ De Burgo says 'about' 1648.

1649. DOMINIC DILLON, O.P.

(From O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 359.)

F. DOMINIC DILLON illustrious by his birth and virtues while discharging the duty of preacher to the army of the Catholics by order of the Apostolic Nuncio John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, entered the fortified town of Drogheda. When this place was stormed by the heretics he was cruelly put to death.

See also O'Heyne.

1649. RICHARD OVETON, O.P.

(From O'Heyne's *Epilogus*, p. 39.)

HE was Prior of Athy. He entered Drogheda with F. Dominic Dillon. Both were seized when Drogheda was taken by the heretics and taken to the open country where the heretical army had pitched its camp. When they had commended themselves fervently to Christ and His Blessed Mother, they were beheaded in sight of the whole army, through hatred of their religious calling and of the Catholic faith.

1649. ROBERT NETTERVILLE, S.J.

(From Tanner's *Soc. Jesu, &c.*, p. 137.)

IN the year 1649 all the Catholics were banished from Dublin by order of the parliament, and a proclamation was issued at the same time imposing the penalty of death on any of them who should be found to have passed even one night within the walls of the city or in the suburbs.¹ And

¹ See Moran's *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*, p. 16, and *Spic. Otter.*, ii. 47 and 51.

to prove that they were not more merciful to the pastors, capital punishment and the confiscation of property were the penalty imposed on anyone who would allow a Jesuit or any priest to stay even an hour in his house. The same took place in Cork, which city the heretics had got possession of by a stratagem. After many of the inhabitants had been slaughtered, a proclamation was issued ordering all to leave the city or abandon their religion when the third cannon shot was fired. Before the signal was given, a sad sight, yet worthy of the first age of the Church, might be witnessed. For young and old, even the sick, ladies too of high birth, all went out of their own accord into the open country, in the morning rich and prosperous, in the evening exposed to hardships such as they had never endured before, to pass the rest of their lives in caves and woods, or to beg their bread. The inhabitants of the city of Drogheda and the Fathers of the residence of the Society of Jesus there endured like calamities or even greater, for owing to the bloodthirsty ferocity of the heretics, the bodies of the Catholics were lying about in every street, in the houses, and in the fields; the blood of young and old alike, of women as well as men, was flowing in streams through the streets.

By some means or other the English learned that F. Robert Netterville was a priest and a Jesuit. Wherefore, on the 15th of June, they burst into the house, and regardless of his advanced age and of his venerable appearance, they seized him by the feet and dragged him out of the bed in which he lay, beat him with sticks, and when they had broken some of his bones, left him half-dead on the highway. Four days after he gave up his soul to Christ, rejoicing greatly that he suffered such torments for Christ's sake.

See also Alegambe and Bruodin.

1649. JOHN BATHE, S. J., AND THOMAS BATHE.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 766.)

THE 16th of August, 1649, was a day of sorrow for the Catholic inhabitants of Drogheda.¹ Among others, F. John Bathe, S. J., and his brother Thomas, a secular priest, were seized by a crowd of rebel heretics and hurried along to the market-place.² There they had to listen to scoffs against the Pope, the Papists, and the Jesuits. They were beaten cruelly with sticks, and at last pierced with shots, and so they earned (as we may well believe) that heavenly crown which has been promised to those who combat to the end for Christ.

See also Tanner, Alegambe, and Arsdeken.

1649. PETER TAAFFE, O.S.A.

(Ibid., p. 719.)

THE illustrious family of Taaffe in Ireland with good reason is proud of the triumph of the Rev. F. Peter Taaffe. He was the brother of the illustrious Viscount Theobald Taaffe, and a member of the holy Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, from an early age. His merits and virtues, which grew with him from his very infancy, and not ambition or favoritism, caused him to be appointed Prior of the Convent of Drogheda. While he was employed, like a good pastor, in tending the flock confided to his care, the leader of the Calvinists, Cromwell, attacked the city and made a breach in its walls. The Prior was found with other ecclesiastics, and the tyrant ordered that if he did not change his religion he should be put to death in the public square.

¹ For a detailed account of the massacre at Drogheda, see *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 97.² In 1642 they had been imprisoned by the Puritans. Hogan's *Dist. Irishmen*, p. 303.

Without further delay, as his constancy in the faith had been already put to the test, he was taken to the place of punishment and his whole body was pierced with balls from guns, in the year 1649.

Cromwell, writing to the Parliament an account of his success, says: 'In this very place (the Church of St. Peter) near one thousand were put to the sword. I believe all the friars were killed but two, one of which was Father Peter Taaffe, brother to Lord Taaffe, whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of.'¹

1649 (?) EUGENE O'TEMAN, O.S.F.²(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 720.)

HE was born of respectable parents in Co. Donegal, and wishing to follow in the footsteps of Christ, he enrolled himself among the poor disciples of the Seraphic Saint Francis who were then inhabiting the convent of Donegal. He was a model to them for many years both in word and deed. When the power of the Regicides was at its height, Eugene was seized by the garrison of Ballyshannon. He was mocked at, stripped of his religious habit, beaten with rods, and so hewn by the swords of these wicked men that eighteen wounds were inflicted on his body before he died. He was left on the highway dead, as the executioners supposed. He was found still alive by his brethren and taken to the monastery, where, amid their tears, he died four days after. When these sacrilegious soldiers returned to the convent after their butchery, one of them in wanton buffoonery, put on F. Eugene's religious habit, and strutted about in it as if he was a Franciscan, while his companions

¹ *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 107.² Bruodin does not give the date of O'Teman's death. His name follows immediately that of F. Taaffe, O.S.F., slain in 1649.

jeered at him ; but he was not long unpunished, for a flash of lightning struck him, killing him on the spot. His Calvinist companions learned from his sudden mishap that it is not lawful to mock at holy things.

1649. JOHN ESMOND, PETER STAFFORD, RAYMOND STAFFORD, PAUL SYNNOTT, RICHARD SYNNOTT, DIDACUS CHEEVERS, AND PAUL ROCHFORD, O.S.F.

(From Ward's *Synopsis*.)¹

CROMWELL appeared at the head of his army before Wexford on October 1st. Early on the 11th the batteries began to play on the castle, which was just outside the walls, and soon made breaches in it. Stafford, the Governor, asked for a parley, and being bribed by Cromwell, admitted some of the besiegers secretly. These turned the guns against the walls. The defenders left that part of the works and retired to the market-place ; the besiegers crossed the walls without hindrance, and opened the gates for their horse. For an hour they met with a 'stiff resistance.' Then the scenes of Drogheda were renewed. The garrison and the townspeople were put to the sword, all but three hundred, who were drowned in their attempt to escape across the river. Two hundred women who were kneeling round the market-cross were massacred. Cromwell wrote to the parliament : ' Thus it has pleased God to give into our hands this other mercy.'

The following account is given by a contemporary :—

On the 11th of October, 1649, the octave of our holy father

¹ MS. in Stonyhurst College.

St. Francis, seven religious of the Order of St. Francis, all men of great merit and natives of the town, perished by the sword of the heretics in Wexford, viz. : Father Richard Synnott, professor of theology, formerly guardian of the convent ; F. John Esmonde, preacher, who had singular power in relieving energumenes ; F. Paulinus Synnott, who had suffered much for the faith among the Turks, and had received from Pope Urban VIII. full jurisdiction over all the Catholic captives ; F. Raymond Stafford, who had left a considerable inheritance, and despising everything for Christ, had chosen to imitate the poverty of Christ under the standard of St. Francis. Fifteen months before his death he had retired to an island, and led there an austere and mortified life, using, only once each day, lenten fare. F. Peter Stafford, too, was much devoted to prayer. During the times of persecution, in the absence of the secular clergy, he discharged for fifteen years the duties of parish priest with great credit. Brother Didacus Chevers, over seventy years of age and blind, and Brother James Rochford, were both men of exemplary lives, and devoted to work. Some of these were slain while kneeling before the altar, others while hearing confessions. F. Raymond Stafford, holding in his hand a crucifix, came out of the church to encourage the citizens, and even preached with great zeal to the enemy, until he was slain by them in the market-place. All these were men of most exemplary life, and as they fell, the Lord deigned to show how precious their death was in His sight.

1. When they were fired at, the balls fell close to some of them without doing them any harm whatever. This I heard from a noble lady, Margaret Keating, to whom the enemy related it in presence of her children and servants.

2. Whilst they were being put to death, it happened that a little of their blood fell on the hand of one of the executioners ; this he could not wash off ever after or remove by any means whatever. I heard this from Mr. John French of Ballolone, who had himself seen the blood and learned the circumstances from the mouth of the wicked man after the capture of the city ; he spoke of the crime with great sorrow, saying that he bore about on his hand the token that he had slain the religious 'whose blood you see,' and would carry the mark with him to his grave.

3. Mrs. Margaret Keating, the wife of Captain Doran, and daughter of Mr. William Keating, an alderman of Wexford, told me she heard a soldier of the English army named Weaver say, that when the religious were mortally wounded and lay expiring in the streets, through compassion for them and wishing to put an end to their sufferings, he fired at one of them twice. Though

the balls touched his cowl, they did not penetrate it; they fell gently near the cowl as if they had no force. He then shot at his body, but the result was the same. Weaver was asked to fire again; he replied, 'I have done so already as well as I could; hitherto I have slain none of the Irish, nor shall I do so in future.' He left the army and became a Catholic. I was sought for to reconcile him to the Church, but as I was not found, I did not see him. But to a certainty he was reconciled by the Rev. Patrick Hampton, chancellor of Ferns, of pious memory.

4. Some of the soldiers who put on the habits of the religious, died miserably. Mr. William Hore of Harperstown told me that he warned in a friendly manner one of the English soldiers who had the habit on, to lay it aside, as it was not right to mock at St. Francis or the other saints. He replied, 'that is all nonsense and superstition.' 'Tell me, I beg you,' said Mr. Hore, 'to-morrow morning if you have had any dream.' He agreed to do so. After he had gone to rest he was tortured by spectres all the night, thinking mad dogs were dragging him about. He was so terrified at these sights that he took sick and died.

5. Francis Whitty, a man of noble birth, told me that he saw one of the English soldiers who had the habit on, die while uttering blasphemies.

6. It is commonly reported that a soldier fired at the crucifix which F. Raymond held in his hand, and that the ball turned aside and killed the captain of the company. This I heard from Sir Thomas Esmonde and from many others.

7. The Rev. John Turner, the parish priest of Maglass, declared that, on the day when the religious and others were slain at Wexford, he saw a beautiful woman ascending towards the sky. This he saw when he was five miles from Wexford, before he heard anything whatever about its capture.

8. Divers mishaps befell those who were daring enough to dwell in the convent that formerly belonged to the religious. Many of them, soon after they came to the place, died, and were buried in the convent garden. Those who survived were frequently troubled during the night by spectres; they told their neighbours that they thought they had done wrong in killing the religious, and that they would remain no longer in the convent, even though they should find no other place to live in. This I heard from some of their neighbours who knew well of their death and burial, and who had heard from these persons that they were tormented in this way by spectres.

I, the undersigned, declare, on the word of a priest, that I

heard the above facts related by the aforesaid persons, and have set them down in writing exactly as they were told.

FATHER FRANCIS STAFFORD,

*Of the Conception, preacher and confessor, and ex-guardian
of the convent of Wexford.*

1650. FRANCIS FITZGERALD, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 263.)

HE was born of a very illustrious family in Munster. In this year he was hanged in Cork by order of the rebels, because he had administered the sacraments and offered the sacrifice of the Mass.

WALTER DE WALLIS AND ANTONY
MUSÆUS, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 161.)

THESE two very renowned preachers, both sprung from noble families of great antiquity in Leinster, added very much to the nobility of their birth by fighting bravely for Christ till death. They were seized on March 24th of this year by the heretics, and being recognised, they generously gave up their lives, and were hanged at Mullingar.

1650. JAMES O'REILLY, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

HE was a learned theologian, an eloquent preacher, and a famous poet. He had been sent from Waterford to Clonmel some time before the siege of this town began, to train

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 566.

youth in polite literature and in the Christian doctrine. When the garrison abandoned the place, he too sought safety in flight. Not knowing whither the road led, he wandered about, and fell in with a troop of Puritan cavalry. They asked him who he was. He answered fearlessly: 'I am a priest, a religious, although an unworthy one, of the Order of St. Dominick. I have lost my way, and while trying to escape you, I have fallen into your hands. I am a member of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. So I have lived, and so will I die. May God's will be done.' The soldiers fell on him, and covered him with wounds. For a whole hour he lay weltering in his blood. He did not cease to invoke the holy names of Jesus and Mary, and to beseech his patron Saints to intercede for him. At length exhausted by his numerous wounds, the holy martyr gave up his soul.

1650. BOETIUS EGAN, BISHOP OF ROSS.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 719.)

HE was a native of Duhallow, in the County of Cork, and a religious of the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance. Such was the esteem in which he was held by his brethren for his great virtue, that not only the members of the Irish Province conferred on him all the honours they could, but the General Chapter held at Toledo chose him a Definitor General of the Order. The fame of his virtues reached Innocent X., then Pope, who at the recommendation of the Papal Nuncio, appointed him Bishop of Ross.¹

He spared no effort to restore unity among the Confederate Catholics. While he was engaged in that arduous task and going through different parts of the country he

¹ He was consecrated by the Nuncio Rinuccini a year before.

was of a sudden seized by that merciless tyrant Broghill,¹ the son of the Earl of Cork, and hanged by his order without any process of law, through hatred of his religious profession. He was buried at Aghina.

Broghill ordered the Bishop to be brought to the Castle of Corrigodrotred,² and offered him pardon if he would use his influence to make the garrison surrender the place. When he was brought within hearing of those within, instead of urging them to yield, he exhorted them to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and country. By Broghill's orders he was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers. His arms were first severed from his body. He was then dragged along the ground to a tree close by, and hanged with the reins of his own horse.

In a list of Irish bishops residing in their Sees in 1649, presented by the Bishop of Ferns to Clement IX. in 1667, Dr. Egan is set down among those who were 'slain through hatred of the Faith.' In the Rinuccini MSS. he is styled 'a most glorious martyr.'³

1650. ÆNEAS O'CAHIL, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656,⁴ and O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 358.)

THIS eloquent preacher belonged to the convent of Cork. About this time he fell in by chance with a troop of the heretics' horse, and being recognised as a religious and a soldier of Christ, both brave in the fight and powerful in

¹ His name seems ever a prelude of woe to the Irish people, says Prendergast, *Cron. Settlement*, p. 91.

² Three miles east of Macroom.

³ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 419, and *Fran. Monasteries*, p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

word, he was slain on the spot. His body was cut into small pieces and scattered about, to be food for the crows.

1650. JOHN DORMER, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 261.)

HE was a native of Leinster. This unwearied labourer in the vineyard of the Lord was seized by the heretics in Dublin in the year 1650, and condemned to prison. Owing to the hardships he endured, he passed to a better life in the prison before he was taken to be executed, as had been determined on because of his constancy in the profession of the orthodox faith.

1650. NICHOLAS UGAN,¹ O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 262.)

THIS very exact observer of evangelical poverty was seized by the heretical Puritans in Leinster, in the year 1650, and hanged with the rope which he used as a cincture, in hatred of the orthodox faith.

1651. MYLER MAGRATH, O.P.

(From O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 354.)

HE was brought up in the convent of St. Dominick and Bonfca and in the college of the B. V. Mary of the Rosary, belonging to the Irish Dominicans in Lisbon.² Afterwards he was Procurator and Vicar. He was induced by his love for souls to enter Clonmel, a very strong garrison of the

¹ Probably the name now spelled Wogan.

² Founded in 1615, and later endowed by the exertions of F. Dominic O'Daly, O.P., for Irish members of the Dominican Order. See *Hib. Dom.*, pp. 105 and 410.

heretics. There he was seized just after he had finished Mass, while he was administering the holy sacrament of the Eucharist to a dying man, with the sacred pyx in his hands, and immediately led off to be executed. He made an address to the people, and amid the tears of many, he was hanged.

It is to him, no doubt, that the reference is made in the following words: 'In the month of April of this year, a priest of the Order of St. Dominic, for celebrating Mass and administering the Sacraments, especially that of penance, endured a glorious martyrdom, being hanged in the public square of Clonmel.'¹

1651. WILLIAM LYNCH, WILLIAM O'CONNOR,
AND PETER COSTELLO, O.P.

(*Ibid.*, p. 403.)

'AFTER I had brought this work to an end,' says O'Daly, 'some very learned and religious men told me that they, witnesses above all suspicion, saw three more of the religious of our Order put to death through hatred of the faith, viz., the RR. FF. William Lynch, William O'Connor, and Peter Costello. The first was hanged, and the two last were run through with a sword. I thought it right to insert their names, though I cannot give any details until I learn something more about the time, place, and other matter connected with their death.'²

1651. DENIS O'NELAN, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 708.)

HE was descended from a noble family in Thomond. When

¹ 'Narratio status Regni Hibernie:' in *Spic. Ossor.*, i. 378.

² The date must be before 1655, when O'Daly wrote.

he had finished his studies, and was about thirty years of age, he received the holy order of the priesthood. While a secular priest and in charge of the parish of Kilraghty,¹ he won over many souls to God. Afterwards, through a desire to lead a more penitential life, he entered the Order of the Friars Minor of the Stricter Observance at Ennis, his birth-place. After making his profession he went to France, and lived there for five years among the Recollect Fathers of his Order, making much progress in holiness of life and sacred learning. Urged on by zeal for souls, he returned to his native country in 1642, and devoted himself untiringly, with other labourers, in the vineyard of the Lord, to preaching and hearing confessions up to the year 1651, when, God permitting it, the province of Thomond fell under the power of the rebel followers of Cromwell. Nelan, a worker of miracles, unexpectedly fell into their hands. He was seized in the house of a nobleman, one of his kinsmen, O'Neherenny. He was taken, his hands tied behind his back, as if he was a robber, to the island of St. Cronan,² which the heretics had garrisoned. He was asked whether he would abandon his faith and subscribe to the Puritan creed. F. Nelan, who from the moment he was seized, continued as he went along the road, which was about a German mile long, to preach the words of salvation to the heretics with great fervour, answered that he always desired eagerly to labour for the Catholic faith, and even to shed his blood for it, and therefore that not only did he not wish to abandon the faith of his fathers, but he was prepared to suffer a thousand deaths to prove its truth. As soon as he had said these words the rope was put round his neck and he was hanged. By this kind of death my near relative,

¹ In the barony of Corcomroe, Co. Clare, William Neylan was proprietor in this parish in 1641. See *Frost's History of Co. Clare*, p. 464.

² Now Inchicronan, 8 miles N.E. of Ennis.

from whom I learned the first rudiments of grammar in my childhood, obtained the bliss of heaven.

1651. TADHG O'CARIGHY, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 709.)

HE was born of respectable Catholic parents in Thomond. He was a religious of the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance, and a professed of the convent of Ennis. After he was ordained priest, he was sent with F. Didacus O'Brien to Hungary by way of Germany, and at Tyrnau devoted himself to study under the direction of F. Antony O'Brien to whom the Hungarian province of St. Mary owes all its progress in learning and piety, from the year 1635 to the present time. Leaving Hungary, he passed into the Province of Austria, which the Reverend Fathers and very religious men James Fitzgerald, Bernard Clanchy, Antony O'Brien, and Francis O'Molloy, members of the Irish Province, had brought out of the darkness of ignorance. He completed his studies at Vienna in Austria, and Gratz in Styria, under the above-mentioned Fathers and returned to his native country in 1642. Hardly had he landed when his fame spread throughout the whole of Thomond, owing to his zeal and eloquence. He laboured without ceasing among the toilers of Christ for the salvation of souls up to the year 1651, when he fell into the snares of the Cromwellian rebels. He was seized not far from Ennis. Wealth and honours were offered to him, to tempt him; but to no purpose, for neither flattery nor threats could induce him to abandon the way that leads to

life. He was hanged therefore by order of the tyrants and cut to pieces, in the year 1651.¹

HUGH McKEON, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 714.)

AMONG the ornaments of the Seraphic Order to whom Ulster gave birth, was this most religious man. He was born of respectable parents in Co. Armagh. Having made his profession in the convent of Armagh, he proceeded to exhibit such first fruits of virtue as a religious man should. Wherefore, to be of still more use to the people of God, he was promoted to the priesthood, and appointed to hear confessions. When the Cromwellian rebels became complete masters of the province of Ulster, Hugh, by the command of his superiors, went into Upper Connaught. There he was seized by the heretics, and cast into prison at Athlone. Worn out by the filth and foulness of the place, he died in the year 1651.

ROGER O'MARA, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*)

THE family of MacNemara or O'Mara² has always been considered most ancient and famous in Thomond. To it belonged F. Roger O'Mara, the son of the illustrious

¹ There is in the Franciscan convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, a small parcel containing a piece of a Franciscan habit and cord, and a lock of grey hair. It bears the inscription: *Ex tunica, chorda, et capillis P. Joannis Casgi, cujus vitam et martyrium descriptum habes in . . .* It was brought from St. Isidore's, Rome. John may be the name which he had in religion.

² The author confounds these two families, which are quite different. The territory of the one lay in the part of Clare immediately north of the city of Limerick. That of the O'Maras was about Toomevara, eight miles east of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.

Donogh O'Mara and Maria MacMahon, his wife. He made his religious vows among the children of the Seraphic Order in the convent of Quinchy,¹ which was built by his ancestors of pure marble.² After he was ordained priest, he offered the great sacrifice daily with much devotion. When the heretics were displaying their fury throughout the province, and F. Roger was labouring for the consolation of the faithful, the Most High wished to reward him for his zeal. Wherefore, by God's permission, he was seized in Clare Castle, and when he could not be induced, either by threats or rewards, to abandon the Catholic faith, he was pierced with bullets, and afterwards hanged, in the year 1651.

1651. DANIEL CLANCHY, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*)

HE was born of a noble family who lived at Tradree³ in Thomond. In 1640 he had taken the vows as a laybrother of the Seraphic Order, in the monastery of Quin, and up to the year 1651 he had lived as became a humble child of St. Francis. In this year he was seized by heretics and put to death by hanging.

1651. JEREMIAH O'NEREHENY, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 717.)

HE was a native of Tradree in Thomond. His parents, whom I knew very intimately, belonged to our ancient nobility and were very wealthy. Despising the vanities of

¹ Now Quin Abbey, five miles S.E. of Ennis.

² It was built by Sioda Cam McNemara, in 1402.

³ A district in the south-east of Clare, bordering on the Fergus; Benratty Castle is at its south-eastern extremity. See Frost's *History of Co. Clare*, p. 181.

the world, he entered the Order of the Friars Minors, in the convent of Quin, in the year 1640, at which time F. Bonaventure Gorman was Guardian, and made his profession as a laybrother. During the usurpation of Cromwell he was seized by the heretics and beaten with sticks; a rope was put round his neck, and he was told he should suffer death if he did not abjure the Popish religion and subscribe to the dogmas of Protestantism. He replied that there was no salvation outside the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and he exhorted the insolent rebels to return to better thoughts. The heretics, angered by the patience and exhortations of the Brother, hanged him on the spot. And so he died gloriously for Christ, in the year 1651.

1651. BERNARD AND LAURENCE O'FERALL,
O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

FF. Bernard and Laurence O'Ferall suffered death for the faith. This is in brief their history. They were seized while they were engaged at prayer in the early morning, in the chapel of their convent² of Longford. The soldiers coming in, inflicted more than twenty-four deadly wounds on F. Bernard; yet he received the sacraments before he died, as he had always desired.

F. Laurence was taken immediately to the Governor, who recognised him as one who had been with the army, in obedience to the authority of the Apostolic Nuncio, and ordered him to be hanged the next day. Owing to the intercession of some friends, the execution was deferred for three days, to the great sorrow of Laurence, who blamed them for causing the delay, and employed the whole of

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 569. See another account in *Spic. Ossor.*, ii. 108.

² Founded by the O'Ferrall family in 1400. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 301.

that time praying to God that He would not allow the palm of martyrdom to be snatched from him. When the time came, he mounted the ladder and addressed some words of consolation to the Catholics who stood by. He inveighed with such earnestness and powerful arguments against heresy, that the Governor ordered him to be executed without further delay. Then the martyr, taking his leave of the people, put his rosary round his neck. Taking in his right hand the crucifix, and putting both his hands under his scapular, he told the executioner to do his duty. When he was thrown off the ladder, he took both his hands from under his scapular, and raised up the cross, as a token of his triumph. Not only those who stood by, but the Governor, was astonished at the sight, and he caused the body to be taken down in a respectful manner, and gave a safe-conduct to all the clergy of the neighbourhood to take part in the divine office and to assist at the burial of the martyr.

See also O'Daly and Bruodin.

LOUIS O'FERRALL.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 722.)

HE was chief¹ of a very extensive territory. He was seized by the Parliamentarians and taken to Athlone. He died there of the hardships which he endured while imprisoned for the faith, in the 80th year of his age, in the year 1651.

1651. FRANCIS O'SULLEVAN, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 724)

HE was of the family of the former princes of Beare and

¹ The O'Ferralls were chiefs of Annaly, now Co. Longford.

Bantry in Munster. He was a member of the Order of St. Francis, and lector jubilatus in theology, having a very profound knowledge of sacred and profane learning. He returned to Ireland in 1630. In 1650 he was set over the Irish Province, and though confusion reigned everywhere, he governed the flock entrusted to his care in the best way he could, until 1651, when the rebels became supreme throughout Munster. F. Francis still remained in Kerry, though the heretics were laying waste the whole country. But to avoid the impending storm and to preserve himself for the welfare of the flock confided to his care, imitating therein the conduct of the Apostles, he took refuge with many others in a cavern; yet he did not escape the lynx eyes of those who were seeking for Papists to put them to death. He was discovered and shot to death in the cavern, which thus served as a place of burial for his remains, about the beginning of December, 1651.

See also Morison.

1651. EDMUND O'BERN, O.P.

(*Ibid.*, p. 725.)

HE was born of noble parents in Co. Roscommon, but he added to the nobility of his condition by his profession of the rule of the Order of Preachers and by his holiness of life. Some soldiers of the garrison of Jamestown¹ seized this holy man, and tortured him in many ways. But as gold is proved by the fire, so they found Fr. Bernard to be a true Catholic preacher in word, profession, and deed. Wherefore the rebels infuriated, like executioners, set on him, and after cutting off his fingers and toes one after the other, beheaded him with a sword. Edmund, as we may

¹ Near Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Roscommon.

well believe, obtained the crown of martyrdom by enduring this cruel manner of death.

See also O'Daly and De Burgo.

1651. WILLIAM HICKEY, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 260.)

HE was a native of Thomond. When this province was subdued this great preacher of the divine word was seized by the parliamentary heretics. He confessed fearlessly and openly that he was a priest and a Franciscan. Hearing this, the captain of the heretical soldiers, without observing any legal forms, ordered him to be hanged from the nearest tree.

PHILIP FLASBERY.¹

(*Ibid.*, p. 263.)

HE was a native of Leinster, well known for his holiness of life and learning. He was hanged in the year 1651 by the heretics near Dublin.

CHARLES O'DOWD.

(From Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 67.)

THIS illustrious nobleman² was hanged in 1651.

¹ This family resided at Johnstown, near Naas. Philip F., 'a worthy gentleman and a diligent antiquary,' is said by Holinshed to have written a book bearing the title *Diversas Chronicas*.

² An account of this family will be found in *Tribes, &c., of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 343.

DONOUGH O'BRIEN.

(Ibid., p. 67.)

THIS illustrious man, of the royal family of the O'Briens, most generous and hospitable, had received a safe-conduct from the heretics on condition of paying them a tax. One day that the heretics made an attack on the Catholics, a horseman shot him; and when the old man (for he was then sixty-four years of age or thereabouts) went into a hut half-dead, in order to pray to God and ask pardon for his sins, the soldier pursued him and set fire to the hut, and so he was burnt alive in the year 1651.

TERENCE ALBERT O'BRIEN, BISHOP OF EMLY.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

THERE have been in our times very many who, in the Province of Ireland, have endured great torments for the faith of Christ. Of forty-three convents which our Order possessed, not one now remains. The fury of the persecuting heretics has levelled them all to the ground or turned them to profane uses. In 1646 the number of Brothers was about 600. Of these not a fourth part now survive, and these are exiles from their native land, the others having been put to death at home, or having died a lingering death after their cruel banishment to the Barbadoes.

Among the first deserving of mention is the Most Illustrious and Reverend Terence Albert O'Brien, a descendant of the noble family of the ancient kings of Ireland. After finishing his studies successfully in Spain, he returned to his native country, and there by word and example cultivated the vineyard of the Lord. Twice he was Prior in

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 488.

his native city of Limerick, once in Louvain. He went as Provincial to the General Chapter of the Order held in Rome in 1644, where, in acknowledgment of his services, he was made Master of Theology. When the Chapter had ended, he set out for Lisbon, to visit the two convents of his Order there, one for Brothers, the other for Sisters.¹ While there, news reached him that he had been appointed Bishop of Emlý by Urban VIII. He devoted himself to the discharge of the duties of his new office, aiding by his authority, wisdom, and watchfulness, the Church in Ireland, which then had special need of such a guide. These qualities he gave a singular proof of while he was in the city of Limerick, when it was besieged by Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. He was offered a bribe of 40,000 gold crowns and a pass to any place he pleased, if he would quit the city and cease to urge the citizens to resistance—all which he refused, preferring to give his help to the Catholic people up to his death.

When the city was taken by Ireton² he was seized, put in chains, and taken to the market-place. He walked with joy to the place of execution, and then, with a calm countenance, turning to his Catholic friends, who stood among the crowd weeping, he said to them: 'Hold fast to the faith, and keep its commandments. Murmur not against what the providence of God allows, and by so doing you will save your souls. Do not shed tears on my account, but rather pray that in this last trial I may by firmness and constancy obtain heaven as my reward.'³

The persecutor Ireton, to whom Terence had distinctly foretold that the vengeance of God would soon fall upon

¹ See p. 285, *antea*. O'Daly founded a house for Nuns also of the Dominican Order in Lisbon. *Ibid.*, p. 421.² Rather betrayed to him. See *Aphor. Disc.*, iii. 19.³ The Bishop of Clonfert writing from Inisboffin, August 31st, 1651, says: 'The Bishop of Emlý was taken and hanged because of the great things he had done for the faith.' *Spic. Osser.*, i. 385.

him, was struck down with the plague very soon after, and in his mad raving used to exclaim that the murder of the Bishop was the cause of his death; and turning his face to the wall, he used to mutter: 'I never gave my vote for the death of the Bishop; it was the act of the Council of War. Would to God I had never set my eyes on that Bishop.'¹ Tortured by a guilty conscience, he breathed forth his soul.

The martyr's head was fixed on a high pole on the top of the Castle; for a long time after fresh blood dropped from it, and the skin and flesh were changed in no way, in token, no doubt, of his virginal purity during life.²

See also Morison, Lynch, Bruodin, O'Heyne, and De Burgo.

1651. SIR GEOFFREY GALWAY.

(From Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 69.)

THE very illustrious³ Sir Geoffrey Galway was also put to death by hanging in Limerick in the year 1651.

1651. LAURENCE WALSH.

(From French's *Unkinde Deserter*, p. 5.)

HE too was one of those exempted from pardon and executed.

¹ He was one of the twenty who in the Articles of Surrender were excepted as to life. See Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 183.

² A more detailed account of O'Brien's *Life* will be found in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, for April, 1864. Clarendon says 'he was hanged publicly, without any formality of justice, and with all the reproaches imaginable.' *Hist. View*, p. 289.

³ For an account of the heroic conduct of his father, Sir Geoffrey Galway, Mayor of Limerick in 1600, in defence of the Catholic faith, see *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 196.

THOMAS STRICH.

(From Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 69.)

HE was Mayor of Limerick.¹ He was hanged at the same time as those mentioned above. His head was cut off and set up on one of the gates of the town. Dr. French says he was 'a right honest man.'

Abelly, who no doubt derived his information from the Vincentian Fathers who were then in Limerick, writes thus of him: 'On terminating a spiritual retreat, he had been elected Mayor. When he received the keys of the city, he laid them at the feet of the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, praying her to take the city under her protection, while at the same time all the public guilds, as an act of public homage, marched with flying banners to the church. Strich addressed the assembly, calling on them to be faithful to God, to the Church, and to the King, and offering to lay down his life in so just a cause. God was pleased to accept his offering, and when the city was taken he received the martyr's crown together with three other persons who having been his companions in his spiritual retreat, were likewise partakers of his reward. They all four went along, not only with firmness but even with joy; and before they were executed, each of them addressed the bystanders, moving the very heretics to tears, and declaring before heaven and earth that they laid down their lives for the confession and defence of the Catholic faith. Their heroic example greatly encouraged the other Catholics to persevere in their faith, and to suffer all extremities of persecution rather than be wanting in the fidelity which they owed to God.'²

¹ The Mayor was Creagh. Strich had been one of the sheriff's in 1645. His son, James Strich, became Bishop of Emly in 1695. For an account of this family, see Lenihan's *H. of Limerick*, p. 139.

² *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, p. 218.

SIR PATRICK PURCELL.

(Ibid., p. 69.)

HE had been second in command of the Confederate army in the province of Munster. He was a very brave and experienced soldier, having served for many years in Germany under the Emperor Ferdinand III. against the Swedes and the French. After the surrender of the city of Limerick he was hanged; his head was cut off and placed on a pole on the southern gate of the city called St. John's Gate.

GEOFFREY BARON.

(Ibid.)

HE was an earnest Catholic, much trusted, and very eloquent. He was a member of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, and was sent by them to plead their cause before the Most Christian King.¹ He too was hanged in Limerick, his head cut off, and his body quartered.

Being asked by the court-martial why sentence of death should not be passed on him, he replied that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as the parliament pretended to fight for, which was the religion and liberty of his country. He was at once sentenced to be hanged.²

The *Aphorismical Discovery* gives some further details: 'Master Barron of Clonmel, a very understanding gentleman, adjudged to the gallows, desired respite of execution till his return from his lodging, and finding there a new suit of white taffie with all the addresses suitable, as if to

¹ The King of France, Louis XIV.² Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i. 323.

be presently married, adorning himself therewith, rode gallantly (as accustomed) with the guard towards the place of execution, behaved himself jocund in his behaviour, and so careless both of execution and beholders that it was strange. Being questioned for the change of clothes, he answered, 'that if to marry a creature he did no lesse, and now that he was of belief that his soul departing at this instant from his body did straight enjoy the pleasures of heaven in the consummation of that eternal nuptial felicity, and to bestow this last livery upon the relict companion of his said soul was the least of his charity to so tender a servant.' In finishing this devout and pious speech he was hanged.¹ Dr. French says he was an ornament to his country.²

1651. DOMINIC FANNING.

(Ibid., p. 70.)

HE had filled the office of Mayor and other positions of great trust, being known as a person of most upright character. He had also given much of his property to aid the Confederate Catholics. He was hanged with those mentioned above, and his head was set up at the gate of the city.

The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* tells that when the Puritan army took possession of the city, Fanning concealed himself in his family tomb in the monastery of St. Francis. But being overcome by cold and hunger, he came out to the body of the church, where there was a guard with a great fire. The Captain of the party coming to the place, marking him to be a person of

¹ *ibid.* 21.² *The Unkindle Deserter*, p. 75.

some quality and moved with some goodly commiseration, gave him a kick, and commanded him away, threatening if ever he found him there to hang him; all this to save his life in giving him a way to secure himself by flight, it being a seasonable time for that purpose, all the gates open and the guards weary and sluggish. But a servant of this gentleman told the Captain that the man was a prime incendiary against his forces, and ever since the war began did so behave himself. The fellow went and informed against him. The Captain was brought in question for this disservice, and acquitted himself by tender of the prisoner, who was forthwith hanged.¹

DANIEL O'HIGGIN.

(*Ibid.*)

HE was a Doctor of Medicine, a wise and pious man. He too was hanged.²

1651. VINCENT GERALD DILLON, O.P.

(From O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 359.)

F. DILLON, of the convent of Athenry, was of a noble family and remarkable for his piety. He had been at one time Vicar of the Irish Dominican Convent of Lisbon. He went to England with the Irish who served under the King's standard, to hear the confessions of the Catholics in that army, and being taken prisoner by the rebels after

¹ *Aphor. Disc.*, iii. 21.

² These with several others of both clergy and laity, were pitifully mangled, massacred, hanged, and dragged, man, woman and child, except the betraying traitors. Three days and so many nights were they in this bloody execution. No grottoes, cellar, prison, or church was unsearched. All therein found were made piecemeal, and hanged and quartered. *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 21.

the battle of York,¹ he was thrown into prison and kept there till he died of hardship and hunger in 1651.²

See also O'Heyne.

JAMES WOLF, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656,³ and O'Daly's *Relatio*, p. 353.)

HE was a native of the city of Limerick. He had been absent from the city during the whole time of the siege. When it was taken and all the ecclesiastics that could be found in it were either put to death or banished, so anxious was he for the salvation of souls, that he entered it secretly in order to console the Catholics and administer the sacraments to them. He was seized while offering the sacrifice of the Mass. Within a few hours he was sentenced to die, and taken to the place of execution. There he made a public profession of his faith, and exhorted the Catholics to persevere in the faith of their fathers. This he did with such earnestness that he touched the hearts of the executioners. When he mounted the ladder, he cried out with joy: 'We have been made a spectacle to God, to men, and to angels. God grant it may be for His glory, for the joy of the angels, but a mockery to men.' He was hanged from a beam, and so consummated his course.

1651. THOMAS O'HIGGIN, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.⁴)

HE was seized by some soldiers of the garrison of Clonmel,

¹ The author probably means the battle of Marston Moor, fought July 25th, 1644. The Parliamentarians took possession of York immediately after.

² Mention of his death in prison at York is made in the Acts of the General Chapter of 1656. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 569.

³ In *Hib. Dom.*, p. 568.

⁴ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 569.

and cast into prison. Some time after he was condemned to be hanged for confessing the faith, and in this way he obtained the crown due to a glorious victory.

1651. DONOUGH AND JAMES MORAN, O.P.

(*Ibid.*¹)

DONOUGH, surnamed Dubh, *i.e.*, the black, was a lay-brother of the Order of Preachers in the Province of Connaught. He was found wearing his religious habit and slain.

James Moran, also a laybrother, was put to death at the same time.

See also O'Daly.

1652. JOHN KEARNEY, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 233.)

HE was born at Cashel in 1617, of Catholic parents who were of noble birth, John Kearney and Elizabeth Creagh. His mother was one of the crowd of Catholics who took refuge in the cathedral church of St. Patrick in that city and was cruelly put to death by the English heretics, through hatred of the faith. Owing to the care of his pious parents, such seeds of piety, modesty, and self-restraint were planted in his soul during his early youth, and took in it such firm hold, that no storm could root them out. He had hardly reached his seventh year when his piety, shown while hearing Mass, attracted the wonder of all who were present. His father's house was then a hiding-place, during the time the persecution was raging, for religious, especially for the Franciscans; the young boy took such delight in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

their company that he could hardly be separated from them, even to take some sleep.

F. Everard, then Provincial of the Seraphic Order in Ireland, at his earnest request received him into the Order. Bidding farewell to his relatives and friends, he went to Kilkenny, where the noviciate of the Order was. About the year 1642, having completed his studies, he received the order of priesthood. Burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, he asked and obtained permission from his superiors to return to his native country. On the way the ship in which he was was captured by the English Parliamentary rebels. He was taken to Bristol and from that to London, his hands tied behind his back, as if he were a public robber, and cast into prison. After some weeks of confinement, he was brought before the court to be examined. He answered fearlessly that he was a Catholic and a priest of the Order of St. Francis. When he had uttered these words, he was condemned to be racked unless he renounced the Pope's religion. He was put to the torture in several ways, by the rack, by burning his hands and feet, the executioners meantime asking him whether he would renounce his religion; to whom he replied joyfully that they did not know how to perform their office. Seeing that the soldier of Christ could not be overcome in this way, his persecutors chose another plan, and thought they could gain their end by casting him into prison, where he would suffer hunger and other hardships.

He left their presence rejoicing that he was thought worthy to suffer insults for his devotion to the Catholic Church. His hands and feet were laden with chains, and he was cast into a dark prison twenty feet deep, his only food being bread and water. The jailer's wife, who used to bring him the small portion of food allowed him, offered him her daughter in marriage, and promised at the same time to let him go free. He laughed at the proposal of

the foolish woman, and exhorted her to abandon the Calvinist heresy and to embrace the Catholic faith out of which there is no salvation. After lying in this prison for three months, he was again brought before the judges, and as he still refused to conform to their false religion, he was condemned to death. When he heard the sentence, he intoned the hymn of St. Ambrose; but he was prevented from continuing it by the blows of the pursuivants, and was taken back to the prison. His execution was to take place the next day with that of others who were condemned to death for robbery. It was the will of God, however, that Kearney should be reserved for still greater sufferings for the glory of His name. Wherefore, on that same night, through the exertions of an illustrious English Catholic, he was let down from his prison in a basket, and taken to his rescuer's house. Through the exertions of this same Englishman, he was put on board a ship and conveyed to France.

Very soon, through zeal for the glory of God and the saving of souls, he resolved to encounter once more the perils of the ocean. He set sail from Calais, and landed safe at Wexford. The condition of the country at the time was truly pitiful. Many of the ecclesiastics had been banished, or had fled, and over one hundred thousand Catholics were left as sheep in the midst of wolves. Kearney seeing their forlorn condition, determined not to abandon them till death, and when his friends urged him to fly for a while till the persecutions should be less violent, he answered that he would not leave his country unless he was forced to do so by violence, or by an order of obedience. Night and day he went through the cities, towns, and villages of Munster, administering the sacraments, strengthening the weak and suffering, and tending the plague-stricken, of whom there was a great number then in Ireland. While so engaged, in the neighbourhood of Cashel, about

the middle of March, 1652, he fell into the hands of a cruel captain of soldiers named Wilmer,¹ who, delighted at having captured such a prey, put chains on him, and soon after sent him, guarded by heretical soldiers, more cruel than wild beasts, to Clonmel, about twenty miles off.

Hierome Sankey,² a bloodthirsty Cromwellian, was then Governor of Clonmel and of the whole of that part of Munster. He ordered the Father to be put into the common jail, already filled with other ecclesiastics. Taking advantage of the presence there of priests of his Order, he prepared for death very piously. The next day the feast of St. Joachim,³ Sankey took his place on the bench, and all the ecclesiastics were brought in irons before him. Suddenly false witnesses came forward, accusing these innocent men of crimes against the laws enacted by the parliament. F. Kearney, specially, was accused of high treason, because he had celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments in different parts of Munster, and prevented the Catholic people from renouncing papistry.

Kearney boldly replied to his accusers that he was a religious of the Order of St. Francis, and a Catholic priest, whose duty it was to celebrate Mass and administer sacraments to the Catholic people, and that he had not violated any law of a well-ordered State in satisfying the divine law, even though he was forbidden by the constitutions of parliament to do so. The tyrant Sankey, hearing this, ordered Kearney to be put to death, and the other prisoners to be banished from the kingdom. When the sentence was pronounced, he was taken back to the jail, and there laying aside the secular dress, which, like the other religious in England and Ireland, he wore in public, he put on the

¹ Sir Charles Wilmot, no doubt, who commanded in Kerry at this time. His name is frequently mentioned in *Pacata Hibernia*.

² See *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 76; and *The Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, p. 289.

³ The Sunday within the octave of the Assumption.

sacred habit of St. Francis and his sandals, and attached the rosary to his girdle, and taking the crucifix in his hands, he told the jailer that he was ready for death.

When eleven o'clock came, the time appointed for his execution, he was brought from the prison to the market-place a prisoner. A great crowd came thither from all parts of the town, not only Catholics, who were in sorrow, but Calvinists, who were in great delight at seeing such a strange sight as a religious wearing his habit and facing death with such courage. When he reached the place of execution, he knelt down and thanked God for making him worthy of such a kind of death, which would procure him eternal life with certainty, and with tears in his eyes he asked the grace to fight bravely to the end. He then mounted the ladder, and permission being given to him by the captain of the soldiers to speak, he told in a few words how he had been taken, imprisoned, accused, and condemned to death, for no other reason than that he had celebrated Mass, administered the sacraments, and exhorted the Catholics to continue in the profession of the faith of their fathers. 'All this I confessed during my trial,' said he, 'and now not only do I confess it, but I assert that no one can be saved outside the Catholic faith, for which I die willingly and gladly, hoping through the merits of Christ for the great reward which God has promised to those who love him.' When he had said these words, he was thrown from the ladder by the executioners, and his soul, as we believe, went to heaven. He was then in his 30th year. His friends obtained from Sankey that his body should be given to them. Taking it down, they carried it to Cashel, and buried it in the chapter-room of the Franciscan monastery.¹

¹ Founded by William Hackett, in the reign of Henry III. See *Mon. Hib.*, p. 651. It was on the site now occupied by the Catholic church and the Presentation convent.

F. Joseph Saul, and Godfrey Saul, Canon of the Metropolitan church of Cashel, who wrote a *Life* of this martyr, now in my possession, relate that when his friends were carrying the body from Clonmel to Cashel, they met on the way the noble lady, Maria Grey, Kearney's spiritual child and special benefactress for many years. With tears in her eyes, through her great affection for the martyr, she asked that his body might be shown to her. When the coffin was opened, the pious lady took the martyr's right hand in her's and kissed it, commending herself to his prayers very devoutly. The dead man, in the sight of several persons worthy of credit, pressed her hand in his, as if he was alive. The Catholics who saw it believed that the prayers of this Catholic woman were heard by the martyr. The lady made oath before the Vicar General of Cashel that this happened, and she told it several times to hundreds of people.

1652. JOHN O'CULLEN, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

HE belonged to the Convent of Athenry,² and was a living example of religious observance, devoted to prayer and fasting—though always of delicate health, and content with a poor habit. Such were his talents that he mastered almost all branches of learning without a teacher. He confuted heretics in a very learned way, and confirmed the Catholics, ready to run any risk in defence of the authority of the Apostolic See. At length he was seized by the heretics and pierced with several wounds, and gladly gave up his life for Christ, earning the crown of virginal purity

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 572.

² Founded by Milo De Bermingham, 2nd baron of Athenry, in 1241.—*Ibid.*, p. 220.

and of martyrdom. His head was cut off, and placed on a spear as a trophy.

See also Bruodin.

1652. NIELAN LOCHERAN, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 730.)

HE was a native of Ulster. He entered the Franciscan Order in the convent of Armagh, and in his twentieth year made his religious profession there. He made wonderful progress in virtue, and would have made still greater if his life had not been cut short by the fury of the heretics. This good shepherd was seized by the soldiers of Londonderry (I know not by what chance), and with his hands tied behind his back as if he was a robber, dragged to that town. His constancy was then tested by the most refined tortures, for all of which he showed his contempt, and while enduring them he preached to the heretics. The Governor of the town ordered him to be brought into his presence, and offered him a rich wife and a good benefice if he would abandon the path of justice and accept the impious doctrines of the heretics. Nielan, filled with angelic courage, replied that, like the Apostle Peter, he had of his own free will left all that the world could give in order to gain Christ, and on no account would he, by looking back, rob himself of the reward promised to him in heaven. In fine, he exhorted the rebel Governor to remember that he too was mortal, that he had an immortal soul, which he besought him to save, as it had been redeemed by the Blood of Christ; that he should abjure heresy (by which chiefly he was led on headlong to damnation), and accept the creed of the Catholic Church, outside which there is no salvation. The tyrant, maddened by what he had heard, ordered Nielan to be hanged without further respite. Full of joy, he was

drawn to the place of execution, and hanged there, in hatred of the Catholic faith, in the year 1652.

1652. ANTONY O'FERRALL, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 723.)

THE Cromwellians seized him as he was preaching in the pulpit at Tulske, in Connaught, in the castle of Ulick Burke, and in great delight hurried him off to put him to death. On the way he urged them, not to spare his life, but to forswear their heresy and to enter on the way which leads to eternal life. They replied that they would show him the way unless he abandoned the teaching of the Papists and went over to Calvinism. True to their word, they showed him the way of the Cross in the castle just mentioned, by which, crowned with the laurel of martyrdom, he went to heaven.

1652. JOHN O'FERRALL, O.S.F.

(From O'Mollony's *Anat. Exam.*, p. 263.)

HE was pierced through by the swords of heretics in the same year (1652).

1652. JOHN O'CONOR KERRY.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 710.)

IN the year 1652 that most illustrious lord, chief of his family¹ in that part of Ireland, fell into the hands of the cruel Crom-

¹ An account of this family will be found in D'Alton's *K. James' Army List*, ii. 328, and the pedigree of John O'Connor Kerry from the Anglo-Norman Invasion, in the *Kerry Magazine* for October, 1855, p. 188.

wellians. This brave man was taken suddenly to Tralee, in the county of Kerry, in spite of the promise made to him by the leader of the rebels, Oliver Cromwell, and questioned about different matters in which he was not concerned, and condemned to death unless he would renounce publicly the doctrine of the Catholics. When questioned on this subject, he replied courageously that he would never leave the bosom of his mother the Catholic Church, outside which no one could be saved. This brave athlete was led off immediately to the scaffold. When he had mounted some steps of the ladder, he turned to those who were standing round, and without any signs of fear, protested that he was a Catholic, and laid down his life most willingly in defence of the faith of his fathers. In fine, he asked that if any Catholic priest was present among those who stood by, he would give him absolution from all his sins. A priest of the holy Order of Friars Preachers was present under the gallows wearing a secular dress, who was well known to O'Connor, and he did immediately what was asked by the martyr of Christ. John understanding by a sign given him by the priest that he had been absolved, ascended the steps of the ladder with courage. The rope was put round his neck and attached to a hook, and he was cast off by the executioner.

See also Morison.

1652. ROGER ORMILIUS, P.P.

(*Ibid.*, p. 714.)

HE was a native of Thomond, born of respectable parents. He was a secular priest and for about thirty years was the excellent pastor of the parish called Brentire.¹ When he was past sixty years of age, he fell into the hands of the

¹ The district to the north-east of Mount Callan, Co. Clare.

heretics at the time when Thomond was handed over by the powers of darkness to the Cromwellians. As soon as he confessed that he was, a priest, he was without any form of law hanged by these tyrants, and thus attained to a blissful life, October 12th, 1652.

1652. HUGH CARRIGHI, P.P.

(*Ibid.*)

AT the same time and place and by the same kind of death, Hugh Carrighi, a native of Thomond and a most worthy parish priest, in the 74th year of his age and the 44th of his priesthood, earned the crown of martyrdom.

1652. EUGENE O'CAHAN, O.S.F.

(*Ibid.*, p. 711.)

HE was born of noble parents in the province of Thomond. He entered the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance as one of the brethren of the convent of Ennis,¹ in his sixteenth year, and made great progress in the spiritual exercises of the religious. He made his profession about the year 1628, and by order of his superiors went to Rome, and there in the famous College of St. Isidore,² under the guidance of those great men Luke Wadding, Antony Hickey, John Punch, and Tadhg Daly, whose memory is in benediction, he made such progress in learning and piety as any one of judgment might well have hoped from a youth

¹ Founded by Donough Cairbreach O'Brien about 1240.

² Founded by Pope Urban VIII. at the instigation of F. Luke Wadding, O.S.F., who is buried there.

of so great natural gifts when trained to virtue by such learned teachers. Having finished his theological studies, by order of the Very Rev. F. Benignus à Genna, then Minister General, he went to Naples, where he taught philosophy in the convent of the Minorite Observantines, with much profit to the studies, and defended theses in public with great success.

Being anxious to be of use to his native country, he obtained the General's leave and sailed for Ireland in the year 1641, and immediately joined those who were toiling earnestly there in the vineyard of the Lord. When the Catholics got the better of the heretics in the year 1643, Eugene by order of his superiors opened a public school in the convent of the town of Quin, in Thomond, which he and the Rev. F. Tadhg O'Brien, lector of the same Order, a pious and learned man, taught. Such a crowd of youths from the different provinces of Ireland flocked to that school that in 1644 it numbered more than 800 students; among them was I with eighteen more of the Bruodin family. When through the evil fortunes of the war and the dissensions of the Catholics this school was broken up, F. Eugene was chosen Guardian of the convent of Ennis, a noble building erected at the expense of the royal family of the O'Briens. In this office he proved himself a zealous and blameless pastor for the space of three years. At length when the heretics were again victorious, and the whole country was in confusion, he was seized by them and scourged by their executioners for a long time. Eugene, more anxious for the salvation of the heretics than for the saving of his own life, urged the apostates very earnestly, not to abate their cruelty, but to abjure their heresy and to enter into themselves. On the other hand the rebels, more confirmed in their evil purposes than Pharaoh, threatened Eugene with death if he did not embrace their creed; and when they saw that they could not prevail on him to do so,

they hanged him in Slieve Luchra¹ in Munster in the year 1652.

1652. BERNARD MCBRIODY.

(*Ibid.*, p. 726.)

THE family of McBriody gave a fitting tribute to Christ when the blood of that brave warrior and captain so much trusted by the Catholic soldiers, was shed unjustly, at the time that many more of them were fighting bravely for the faith like martyrs. This Bernard was the son of Dermot McBriody, commonly called na Saffach, a nobleman who was chief of an extensive district in the barony of Tulla, a skilful and brave soldier, as his adversaries often found out during the Irish war. When at length the treachery of the Calvinists proved triumphant throughout the kingdom, McBriody, following the example of other Catholics, laid down his arms, accepted the terms offered and promised by his opponents, and signed the surrender. In fine he asked leave from the victors, under whose sway he wisely thought it dangerous to live at home, to leave his native country and to set sail for a foreign land. The chief of the heretics not only refused McBriody this permission, but said moreover that he should forfeit his life unless he apostatized from the true faith and subscribed to the creed of the sectaries. McBriody, a disciple of the truth that has come down from the Apostles, replied that he would rather die a thousand times than abandon the faith of his forefathers. The tyrant hearing his determination, at once pronounced the sentence of death on him. This pious and brave soldier was seized by the executioners and without any regard for the amnesty that had

¹ This name is still given by the Irish-speaking people of Cork and Kerry to the moory hills to the north and north-east of Castleisland, Co. Kerry.

been published throughout the whole kingdom, or the promise made to McBriody himself before he laid down his arms, was hanged in the year 1652.

1652. BONAVENTURE DE BURGO, O.S.F., AND
THADDEUS O'CONOR.

(*Ibid.*, p. 721.)

DE BURGO was son of the illustrious Sir Oliver De Burgo, Lord of Ropy¹ and of Anabella O'Conor. In 1635, when a young man, he entered the Order of St. Francis and conformed to its rule most strictly up to the year 1652, when with the illustrious Thaddeus O'Conor, Lord of Bealnamelly,² he was hanged by the heretics through hatred of the faith.

THADDEUS O'CONOR SLIGO.³

(From Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 66.)

HE was descended from the stock of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, a man of wonderful innocence and kindness. After the amnesty given to the whole Kingdom, he was hanged at Boyle.

1652. CON O'ROAIRK.

(*Ibid.*)

He was taken prisoner in battle, and though protection was promised to him, he was run through with a sword.

¹ Ropagh, in the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo.

² I find no name like this in the Ordnance Survey List.

³ An account of this family will be found in Burke's *K. James' Army List*, ii. 529.

1652. EDWARD BUTLER.

(*Ibid.*, p. 71.)

HE was the son of Lord Mountgarrett. And though he was innocent of all crime, and had never borne arms, yet in spite of the treaty that was entered into, and the amnesty that was promised for the whole kingdom, he was hanged in Dublin in the year 1652.

1652. BERNARD FITZPATRICK.

(*Ibid.*)

THIS priest belonged to the illustrious family of the Barons of Ossory. He was famed throughout the whole kingdom for his holiness of life and his learning, and respected on account of his high descent. The heretics pursued the holy man into a cave where he had sought refuge from them, and cut off his head. They set it up on the gate of a certain town, fixed on a pole, to be the food of the birds of the air; and they left his body to be devoured by the wild beasts.

See also Bruodin.

1652. BRIDGET FITZPATRICK.

(*Ibid.*, p. 72.)

THIS illustrious lady was of the D'Arcy family,¹ and was wife of Florence Fitzgerald,² descended from the Barons of Ossory. Without any of the forms of law and justice she was hanged by the heretics in the year 1652.

¹ She was the daughter of D'Arcy of Platten, Co. Meath.

² He was grandson of Florence, 3rd Baron of Upper Ossory.

1652. ANTONY BRODER, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, p. 727.)

THE Broders are a respectable Catholic family of Co. Galway, living not far from Lough Derg and having a considerable property there. Brother Antony was one of this family, and a religious of the Franciscan Order possessed of many virtues. When the persecution of the rebels was raging, Antony, who was then only a deacon, was forced, like the other religious, to seek a hiding-place. He sought, and, as he supposed, found one in the neighbourhood of the Castle of Turlevaghan,¹ Co. Galway. It was not a safe one, however, for that cruel and barbarous tyrant who searched every place in Connaught with great cunning, tracked him out, seized him, and hanged him, in the year 1652. Four weeks after the martyr had been buried without any religious rites in the place where he suffered death, his friends came and dug up the body in order to lay it in consecrated ground. A strange thing! When his body was taken up clothed in the religious habit of his Order, blood began to flow from his nose just as plentifully as if he were alive. I leave it to others to explain this fact.

1652. CORNELIUS M'CARTHY.

(From the Archives of the Irish College, Salamanca.²)

THE manuscript history of the Irish College of Seville, now preserved at Salamanca, gives the following account of him:

'In May of this year, 1652, took place the martyrdom of

¹ Near Tuam, Co. Galway.

² See p. 8, *antea*. A detailed history of this college will be found in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, x. 353.

Cornelius M'Carthy of the province of Munster and of the diocese of Ardferd. He entered this college¹ in 1635, as we have said above. He must have left for the Irish Mission in 1642; but there is no precise record of this. However that be, he laboured as an apostle in Ireland, opposing the heretics and administering the sacraments to the faithful. He was put to death by order of Sir John Herseus,² Governor of Kerry, because he was a priest and a defender of the faith. He was then in his 42nd year.

On the margin is written, 'El martyr Don Cornelio Carthes,' the martyr Cornelius M'Carthy.

1653. TADHG MORIARTY, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., of 1656.³)

HE was Prior of the Convent of Tralee⁴ and a model to those placed under him in defending the orthodox religion and the authority of the Roman Pontiff; neither labours, nor sufferings, nor imprisonment, nor death itself could break down his courage.

When the Cromwellian persecution was raging, an opportunity offered of escaping to a safer place; but he courageously refused to use it, through compassion for the Catholics to whom he saw that his presence was most necessary on account of the want of priests to administer the sacraments. He was taken prisoner and carried to Killarney, and there condemned to death. From the top of the ladder he exhorted the faithful to be patient and to hold fast to the

¹ Founded chiefly by the exertions of Theobald Stapleton, a young Irish student, in 1612. See *Ibid.*, viii. 469.

² Probably Harris. Sir Thomas Harris is mentioned as sheriff of Kerry in 1641.

³ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 573.

⁴ Founded by John, 4th baron of Offaly. *Ibid.*, p. 237. A notice of it will be found in the *Kerry Magazine* for 1854, p. 33. Nothing remains of it now. Its site is occupied by the Dominican Convent.

faith. Having recited the verse: 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' he met a glorious death, the very heretics being struck with admiration and saying: 'If ever a papist was a martyr, he was one.' He suffered death¹ October 15th, 1653.

See also O'Daly.

1653. DANIEL DELANY, P.P.

(From Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, iii. 183.)

THE enemy came suddenly on Daniel Delany, parish priest of Arklow, and savagely massacred before his eyes his servant, named Walsh, who was flying for his life, with a packet of the sacred vessels and ornaments. The priest, being a powerful man, drew his sword and defended himself so well against the attack, that he compelled his assailants to promise him his life if he delivered up his sword. But so far from keeping that solemn promise, they immediately stripped the venerable man naked and tied him to a horse's tail. The rider goaded the horse to his full speed along a road covered over with brambles and rough with frost and frozen snow, and dragged the priest to the town of Gorey. There the savage commander of these hunters condemned him to death, in violation of the solemn promise. He was covered over with blood, his sides torn, and his whole frame exhausted. He was handed over to a guard of soldiers, who were to keep watch during the night, while he lay there naked, sleepless, frozen with cold, and livid with bruises. His guards amused themselves by twisting and plucking out his long beard with a rod and cruelly beating his sides with a stick. But these excruciating tortures could draw from him no other remark than

¹ In *Colliculo Ovium*, i.e., Sheepshill. Rinuccini MSS.

this: 'the greater pleasure they appear to give you the more patiently will I bear them.' Next day he was three different times hanged to the bow of a tree, and three times let down to the ground, to protract the agony of his torture. But he was hanged at last, and so he ended his life in suffering to reign triumphant in heaven.

1653. BERNARD O'KELLY, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.¹)

IN the same year Bernard O'Kelly, a lay brother, of the convent of Roscommon, after enduring for a long time the filth of a prison, the weight of iron chains, and hunger (such that he was forced to sell his clothes to get food), was condemned to death at Galway. He was publicly executed, and manfully laid down his life for religion's sake.

1653. HONORIA BURKE AND HONORIA
MAGAEN, O.P.

(From the Acts of the General Chapter, O.P., 1656.²)

IN the year 1653 Honoria Burke added the martyr's purple to the white of the virgin. She was of the noble family of De Burgo in Lower Connaught, her father being Richard Burke. In her fourteenth year she took the habit of the Third Order, that is, of St. Catherine of Sienna, at the hands of the R. F. Thaddeus Duan, the Irish Provincial. She erected a house near the church of our convent of Burishoole,³

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 573.

² *Hib. Dom.*, p. 572.

³ Twelve miles W. of Castlebar, Co. Mayo; founded by Richard De Burgo, of Turlagh, about 1469. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

where, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., she devoted herself continuously to works of piety, till she was quite decrepit. She led a very holy life, and it is said that during her whole life she never was guilty of even one mortal sin. In a time of famine her heavenly Spouse did not abandon her, for in answer to her prayers for help, an unknown youth, an angel of the Lord, as is piously believed, came to the convent door and provided plentifully for the servants of Christ; no one knew who he was, whence he came, or whither he went.

In the last persecution of Cromwell, this holy virgin, with another of her community and a maid servant, fled to Saint's Island. They were pursued by the persecutors, seized, stripped of their clothes, though it was the month of February and mid-winter. After breaking three of her ribs, these cruel men flung her into a boat, as if she was a bundle of sticks, and left her to die. She was taken by the servant on her shoulders to the church of our convent of Burishoole; there she was laid before the altar of the B. V. Mary. The servant left her for a while to go search for the other sister in the wood. On her return she found Sister Honoria kneeling before the altar, with head erect, as if she was in prayer, and sleeping calmly in the Lord.

Sister Honoria Magaen was also a professed of the Third Order. She would not be separated in death or in the tomb from her whose labours and hardships she had shared in life. She too was seized by the aforesaid emissaries of Satan in Saint's Island, stripped of her clothing, and wounded. Fearing more for her chastity than for her life, she escaped from the hands of these mad men, fled into a neighbouring wood, and concealed herself in the hollow trunk of a tree. The next day she was found there frozen to death. Both were buried in the same tomb.

1654 HUGH McGOILL, O.P.

(Ibid.¹)

IN the year 1654 the shedding of Dominican blood continued in Ireland. Hugh McGoill, of the convent of Rathbran,² who on account of his piety and learning had been appointed Master of novices in that convent, urged by his zeal, penetrated to Waterford, to confirm the Catholics in their love and reverence towards the holy Roman Church and its visible Head, the Pope. He was seized by the heretics, and having freely confessed that he was a priest and a Dominican, was condemned to be hanged. Standing under the gallows, he addressed those who were near in such touching language that his very enemies were moved to tears. The Catholics buried his venerated body with all the honour they could.

1654 BERNARD CONNEY, O.S.F.

(From Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*, *p. 723.)

HE was a native of Connaught, and a member of the Order of St. Francis. He filled different offices in his Order in Ireland, such as that of Guardian, Provincial, and Visitor-General. He was Guardian of the College of St. Antony at Louvain also. His eloquence and learning, his exemplary life, and his zeal in promoting the glory of God and advancing the interests of his Order, were well known to all the Catholics of Ireland. But the pestilential heresy of the English could not endure this very virtuous man, though in his 70th year. In 1651 he was seized by those rebels

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 574.² On the western shore of Killala Bay, six miles north of Killala, Co. Mayo; founded by the De Exeters or by Sir William De Burgo about 1270. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

against God and the King, and banished to the Island of Boffin,¹ some miles from the mainland of the Province of Connaught. It is not possible to describe all the sufferings the old man underwent there in the foul prisons for two years, at the hands of the barbarous Calvinists. At the end of that time he was taken to Galway to be executed, but before the sentence of death was pronounced he gave up his soul to his Creator, in the prison, in the year 1654.

1654. LADY ROCHE.

(From Morison's *Threnodia*, p. 71.)

THIS illustrious lady was the wife of Maurice Roche, Viscount Fermoy and de Rupe. She was pious and virtuous, wholly devoted to prayer. A certain ungrateful maid-servant whom she had taken into her house and reared through pity for her forlorn condition, accused her falsely of murder, and though she was far advanced in years, and in the ordinary course of nature had not long to live, she was hanged at Cork, in the year 1654.

1654 (?) WILLIAM TIRRY, O.S.A.

(From *Sanguinea Eremus*.)

FROM his very childhood, William Tirry seemed to be under the special guidance of the Holy Ghost, and as he was growing up he studiously avoided all those sensual enticements by which youth is often led astray, preferring to pass his time in prayer in the churches. When he was old

¹ He is given in the list of priests and friars imprisoned there and in Galway, at p. 38, *antea*.

enough, he abandoned the senatorial rank to which he belonged, and sought refuge with the Hermits of St. Augustine, desiring to hide the nobility of his birth¹ in their humble dwelling. Soon after he was sent to Spain and France to pursue his studies. After some years he returned to his native country, much esteemed for his learning and virtue. His uncle, the Bishop of Cork,² employed him as his adviser, and Viscount Sarsfield placed his two sons under his care to be educated by him. For three years he lived concealed from the public, leaving his cell only to administer the sacraments.

The heretics discovered his hiding-place, and came and seized him. They first strove to pervert him by arguments, but he turned their arguments against them, and readily confounded them. He was then cast into a dark and loathsome prison. There he continued to say the divine office each day, and at times he was strengthened by receiving the Blessed Eucharist from the hands of his companion, Walter. Knowing that the combat was near, he prepared himself for it by mortification and prayer. He passed in prayer the whole of the night that preceded his death, to strengthen himself, as he said, for the fight. At early dawn of that day he received the Viaticum, and waited patiently the signal which would allow him to reach the goal of immortality. When the soldiers burst into his cell, he received them with joy as if they were his friends. A vast crowd followed him to the place of execution, lamenting that an innocent man should be put to death. When he reached the scaffold, he addressed the bystanders on the necessity of faith, on the duty of keeping the passions under control, and of practising works of virtue. The executioner cut short his address, but not before it had wrought the conversion of several heretics who were present. The crowd

¹ There were fifteen Mayors of Cork of this name in the 16th century.

² William Tirry was Bishop of Cork from 1622 to 1640. *Epis. Succ.*, ii. 90.

gathered up the drops of his blood with great care and eagerness. Several miracles were wrought at the time of his death. A blind woman got back her sight by touching his habit. So, too, when his companion, Walter, was on his way to Belgium and was overtaken by a storm, he calmed the sea by casting into it a small piece of the holy man's habit.¹

The author from whom we have quoted the above account gives the names of several other members of the Augustinian Order who laid down their lives for the faith in Ireland besides those already mentioned, but unfortunately he does not say when or where they suffered.² F. Donough O'Kennedy, who had filled very important offices in the Order, after labouring much for the faith, was hanged. F. Donough Screnan, who boldly upheld the liberty of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Church, suffered the penalty by a very cruel death; F. Fulgentius Jordan, a man of wonderful eloquence, was dragged from the pulpit and told to choose between denying the faith and losing his life. He willingly presented his head to the executioner. F. Redmond O'Malley, a man of noble birth, was chaplain to the Catholic army. He was asked why he deceived simple people by his false religion, and when he replied that he could not keep better watch over the flock confided to his care, he was cruelly scourged, and died under the blows. F. Thomas Tully, died after suffering cruel torture. Br. Thomas Deir, a laybrother, was struck by several shots. His earnest desire to receive the Blessed Sacrament before he expired was gratified.

1655. DANIEL O'BRIEN, DEAN OF FERNS,
LUKE BERGIN, O.CIST., AND JAMES MURCHU.

(From Lynch's *De Præs. Hib.*, i. 365.)

THE first was educated in the Irish College of Compos-

¹ See p. 39, *antea*.

² Bruodin says he could find no details of their death. *Propugnaculum*, p. 721.

tella,¹ and such was his gratitude for the kindness which he received from the people of Spain, that he always spoke of them with the greatest affection, and would wear no other dress but that worn by the Spanish clergy; hence he was called Daniel the Spaniard. As a priest he was remarkable for his virtuous life, charity, and zeal for souls; and so great was the love of the Catholic people for him, that they would sacrifice for him not only their property but their very lives. One time the soldiers of a certain garrison, suspecting that the Catholics had assembled at the castle of a nobleman to hear Mass, surrounded the place, so that no one could escape. Their captain demanded that the priest should hand over the chalice to him; if he did not, he threatened to shoot every one in the house. Daniel, hearing these words, came out of his room, and cried out: 'I am the priest who said Mass, these people have done nothing wrong.' He was seized, stripped of his clothes, and robbed of some money which he had. But the captain was not satisfied since he had not got possession of the chalice, and again threatened to plunder and burn the house. Daniel handed him the chalice, and when he had taken a draught of beer out of it, all of a sudden he fell, as if in a fit of apoplexy, and by his cries and convulsions, he struck terror into the bystanders. Daniel in pity made the sign of the cross over him, and offering a short prayer, restored him to health. In gratitude he gave back the chalice, and ever after was kindly to priests.

Though Daniel escaped from this danger, he fell in with greater. Three times he was captured by heretical soldiers. Once he was saved from hanging by the efforts of a Catholic, a friend of the Governor. Towards the end of his life he was so worn out with disease that he could not walk. He was taken to the prison, mounted on horseback.

¹ See p. 8, *antea*.

When he heard the sentence of death pronounced on him, he seemed to get back all his former vigour, and to the surprise of the spectators he walked to the scaffold firmly. Having mounted it, he addressed the crowd standing round, and declared he was innocent of any crime, and earnestly besought the Almighty to receive his soul. He was hanged on April 14th, 1655, the vigil of Easter Sunday.

His companions were Luke Bergin, a Cistercian, and James Murchu, a priest. The jury at first declared they were not guilty of any crime; but when the judge urged that no crime was more grievous than that of being a priest, they were declared guilty. The citizens, even the Protestants, asked that they should not be executed within the town, but their request was refused.

The three martyrs were buried in the old ruined church of the Franciscan Monastery, outside the walls of the town. To the comfort of the Catholics, and to the confusion of the heretics, lights were seen shining over their graves, in token, no doubt, of the bliss which they were enjoying in heaven.

1656. JOHN O'FLAVERLY, O.P.

(From O'Heyne's *Epilogus*, p. 4.)

He was Prior of the convent of Coleraine.¹ He was stoned to death by the soldiers and thrown into the river, and so gave his life for the faith in the Cromwellian persecution, about 1656.

1656. JAMES O'REILLY, O.P.

(*Ibid.*)

He, too, belonged to the convent of Coleraine. He expired under the blows of the soldiers, about the year 1656.

¹ Founded by O'Cahan or M'Evillin in 1224. See *Hib. Dom.*, p. 244.

1665. RAYMOND MOORE,¹ O.P.

(*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

THE Rev. F. Raymond Moore, of the convent of Dublin, was a distinguished theologian. He studied in Spain and at Lisbon. He returned to Dublin, and immediately on landing was thrown into prison with two other priests of the same Order, and spent three years in close confinement. At the end of that time this glorious, learned, and courageous man died for the honour and unity of the Church under its visible, supreme, and infallible Head. He died in prison in the year 1665.

1679. CHARLES MAHONY, O.S.F.

(From Challoner's *Memoirs*,² ii. 215.)

He was born in Ireland, and entering among the religious of the holy Order of St. Francis, made his solemn profession and was advanced to the sacred dignity of the priesthood. Other particulars relating to his life and conversation I have not found; only as he was returning from abroad to his native country, he was driven upon the coast of England, and travelling through Wales in the heat of the persecution, and being found out to be a priest, he was committed to prison, and brought to trial at Denbigh, upon an indictment of high treason, for taking Orders in the Church of Rome and being found in this kingdom. At his trial he confessed himself to be a priest, and was thereupon condemned and sent to Ruthin to suffer. On the 12th of

¹ O'Morradh, in Irish.

² Taken from the Records of the English Franciscans of Douay; the account of his apprehension and trial was written by himself.

August, 1679, he was drawn in his habit to the place of execution, where he spoke as follows:

'Now God Almighty is pleased I should suffer martyrdom. His holy name be praised, since I die for my religion. But you have no right to put me to death in this country, though I confessed myself to be a priest, for you seized me as I was going to my native country, Ireland, being driven at sea on this coast, for I never used my function in England before I was taken; however, God forgive you, for I do, and shall always pray for you, especially for those that were so good to me in my distress. I pray God bless our King and defend him from his enemies, and convert him to the holy Catholic faith. Amen.'

He suffered with great constancy, being cut down alive and butchered according to sentence, as I remember to have read in a manuscript, which I could not since recover. His age was under forty.

This is, no doubt, 'N., the Irish priest who suffered death in Wales on account of orders' set down in the list in *Records of the E. Province S.J.*, series xii. p. 96.

1680. PETER TALBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

(From Arsdeken's *Theologia Tripartita*, p. 229.)

PETER TALBOT was illustrious by reason of his birth,¹ still more by his life, and most of all by the manner of his death. He was descended from the noble stock of the Earls of Shrewsbury, a branch of which family settled in Ireland, and filled very important offices there, and what is still more important, were always remarkable for their

¹ He was the sixth son of Sir William T., of Cartown, and of Alison, daughter of Lord John Netterville, of Castleton, Co. Meath. Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, was their eighth son.

attachment to the Catholic faith. Through a love of learning and virtue he went to Portugal in the year 1635; He was then fifteen years of age. Advancing to the higher studies, he passed through his course of philosophy and theology with great success, under the guidance of the Society of Jesus,¹ partly in Portugal and partly in Rome, where he received Holy Orders. He returned to Portugal, and afterwards went to Belgium. At this time he was very intimate with the King.² Soon after, through affection for the King as well as for the Catholic religion, he went to England, and became one of the Queen's³ Almoners. He discharged the duties of this office with great uprightness, to the satisfaction of all. After some years he returned to Ireland to devote himself to advancing the interests of religion in private. But his great virtue and remarkable learning could not be long hidden under a bushel, for he acquired great repute by his writings in defence of Catholicity. His fame spread not only through England, Ireland, and foreign countries, but it reached even the Court of Rome.⁴ When the See of Dublin became vacant, he was postulated for by many, and Clement IX. appointed him Bishop of that See. He was consecrated at Antwerp in Belgium, May 9th, 1669.

In the stormy times he watched over those entrusted to him with great care. But the wolves attacked his flock. Such was the danger that he thought it better to withdraw for a while, in order to prevent greater evils. He went to France, and during his residence in Paris was universally respected. But while there, he did not omit to

¹ He entered the Society of Jesus in his fifteenth year. Two of his brothers were also Jesuits.

² Charles II. of England, who then lived at Cologne. It was well known that the King was then converted to the Catholic faith by Talbot.

³ Catherine of Braganza.

⁴ See Letters of the Bishop of Ferns, August 30th, 1688, in *Spéc. Osserv.*, i. 459, and of the Archbishop of Armagh, August 31st, 1688, *Ibid.*, p. 460, *Ibid.*, p. 476.

govern his diocese by means of letters suited to its wants. Among these was a Pastoral Letter to the Catholics of Ireland, on *The Duty and Comfort of Suffering Subjects*; ¹ it was printed in Paris, 1674. There are other works of his published at different times: *On the Nature of Faith and Heresy*, Antwerp, 1657; *The Catechism of Politicians*, to instruct them in divine faith and moral virtue, *Ibid.*, 1658; *On the Nullity of the Anglican Protestant Church*, Brussels, 1658; *A Treatise on Religion and Government*, Ghent, 1670; *The History of the Iconoclasts*, Paris, 1674, and other works against Stillingfleet and White.²

After a time when the storm had somewhat abated though not entirely subsided, he returned to Ireland³ and strove to restore discipline in his diocese, to encourage the Catholics, and to baffle the cunning of the heretics in every way he could. But their eyes would not bear the light. His zeal and his influence were detested by them. Secret accusations were made against him, odious suspicions spread abroad, and other means employed to crush this just man so opposed to their wicked designs. But his great crime was his learning, his good repute, and his authority as a Catholic priest. At length this good prelate, who was supported by the testimony of a good conscience, was suddenly seized, and though innocent, was condemned to be imprisoned. The brave soldier of Christ was confined for a long time, but neither guards, nor prison walls, nor chains could restrain his concern for his flock, for he was far more anxious for their welfare than for his own. Whilst he was patiently waiting for the inhuman sentence of the heretical tribunal, his feeble body, no longer a fit dwelling for his noble soul, was broken down by a heavy

¹ This pastoral letter is given in full in Renchan's *Collections*, i. 213.

² A list of them will be found *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ In 1677; he asked permission to die in his own country. His health had been failing for some years.

sickness.¹ Still the soldier of Christ struggled on against the disease and the filth of a loathsome dungeon, destitute of almost all human aid, with nothing to console him but his firm resolution and his consciousness of innocence. At length, after enduring various and repeated tortures, he suffered death,² not indeed by the executioner's axe, but shut up in a filthy prison, and he passed to that better world where God has promised a crown of justice to those who strive lawfully. But this most illustrious prelate will live for ever in the memory of men; he will live in the companionship of holy confessors. The injustice of man, the cunning and envy of heretics, will never rob him of the laurels won in the glorious fight.

On October 28th, 1692, just two months after Dr. Talbot's death, Dr. James Lynch, Archbishop of Tuam, wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda: 'The Archbishop of Dublin remained as much as possible in his diocese. But finding he could not conceal himself in the city or escape the snares of the heretics, he retired to his friends in the country, and lay hidden, sometimes in caves or caverns, or wandering through the woods and mountains. He was at length discovered, conveyed to Dublin, and cast into a loathsome prison, where he endured repeated insults and much misery and hardships. On one occasion indeed he was liberated on giving bail to appear, but of what use was the brief respite? The same tortures were repeated again, guards were sent to watch him in a filthy prison-cell underground, until worn out with heavy

¹ According to Carte, *Life of Ormond*, ii. 478. 'His condition then was miserable and helpless, the violence of his distemper being scarce supportable, and threatening his death at every moment.' Oliver Plunket, the Primate, was imprisoned in the Castle at the same time. He contrived to visit and absolve the dying Archbishop.

² In 1680 the Nuncio wrote from Brussels, December 21st of that year: 'My Lord Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, has died of his sufferings in the prisons of Ireland.' See Renchan's *Collections*, i. 220, and *Hib. Dom.*, pp. 131 and 710.

afflictions this faithful servant of the Lord was called to his Master to enjoy the reward of so much labour.¹

1681. OLIVER PLUNKET, ARCHBISHOP OF
ARMAGH.

(From Challoner's *Memoirs*, ii. 233.²)

THIS apostolical man was descended of an illustrious family³ in the kingdom of Ireland. He was educated in the Catholic religion, and finding himself called to the ecclesiastical state, he went abroad to Italy, and spent almost twenty years in Rome, partly in studying and partly in teaching divinity, where also he received the degree of Doctor in that faculty; and having acquired a general esteem by his virtue and learning, the See of Armagh falling vacant, he was chosen and consecrated to it about the year 1669,⁴ and sent over to Ireland to govern the flock committed to his charge, which he did in such a manner as to give great edification to the Catholics and to be much esteemed by the very Protestants.

Having quoted the testimony of Burnet and Echard on his behalf, Challoner goes on to say, from the continuator of Baker's *Chronicle*: 'In the mean time came on the trial of Dr. Oliver Plunket, a popish titular archbishop of Armagh, who called himself primate of Armagh. He was a worthy and good man, who, notwithstanding the high title given him, was in a very mean state of life, as having nothing to subsist on but the contributions of a few poor clergy of his own religion in the province of Ulster, who

¹ Burke, *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 186.

² His *Life* has been written at length by Cardinal Moran.

³ He was a younger brother of Patrick Plunket of Loughcrew, a junior branch of the Fingal family.

⁴ At Ghent, November 30th, 1669.



Head of Venerable OLIVER PLUNKET, preserved in Dominican Convent, Drogheda

having but little themselves could not spare much to him. In these low circumstances he lived, though meanly, quietly and contentedly, meddling with nothing but the concerns of his function, and dissuading all about him from entering into any turbulent or factious intrigues. But while the popish plot was warm, some lewd Irish priests¹ and others of that nation, hearing that England was disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves qualified for the employment. So they came over with an account of a plot in Ireland, and were well received by Lord Shaftesbury. They were also examined by the parliament, and what they said was believed. They were very profligate wretches, and some of the priests among them had been censured by Dr. Plunket for their lewdness; so partly out of revenge and partly to keep themselves in business, they charged a plot upon that innocent, quiet man; so that he was sent over for, and brought to trial.² The evidences swore that upon his being made Primate of Ireland, he engaged to raise 60,000 or 70,000 Irish, to be ready to join with the French to destroy the Protestant religion and to get Dublin, Londonderry, and all the sea-ports into their hands, and that besides the French army there was a Spanish army to join with them, and that the Irish clergy were to contribute to this design. Dr. Plunket in his defence alleged the improbability of all that was sworn against him; which was apparent enough. He alleged that the Irish clergy were so poor, that he himself who was the head of the whole province lived in a little thatched house, with only one servant, having never above sixty pounds a year income. So that neither he nor they could be thought very likely to carry on a design of this nature. But the fact being

¹ M'Moyer and Duffy.

² He was brought to trial at Westminster, May 3rd, 1681, after having been in prison for a year and a half. A full account of the trial is given in the *Collection of State Trials*, iii. 291.

positively sworn against him, and the jury unacquainted with the witnesses' characters and the scene of action, he was brought in guilty and condemned. It was said the Earl of Essex was so sensible of the injustice done him that he generously applied to the King for pardon and told his Majesty the witnesses must needs be perjured; for these things sworn against him could not possibly be true. Upon which the King in a passion said: 'Why did you not attest this at the trial? It would have done him good then. I dare not pardon anyone.' And so concluded with the same kind of answer he had given another person formerly: 'His blood be upon your head, not upon mine.'

But now let us hear what a Catholic, and one who was intimately acquainted with him in the last scene of his life, viz., the learned and truly religious Father J. Corker,¹ writes of him in a letter penned after his death:

'I cannot as yet pretend to give you, as you desire, a description of the virtues of the glorious archbishop and martyr, Dr. Oliver Plunket. . . . After his transportation hither, he was, as you know, close confined and secluded from all conversation, save that of his keepers, until his arraignment; so that I can only inform you of what I learned, as it were, by chance, from the mouths of the said keepers, viz., that he spent his time in almost continual prayer; that he fasted usually three or four days a week, with nothing but bread; that he appeared to them always modestly cheerful, without any anguish or concern at his danger or strict confinement; but that by his sweet and pious demeanour he attracted an esteem and reverence from the few that came near him.

'The trial being ended, we had free intercourse by letters with each other.² And now it was that I clearly perceived the spirit of God in him, and those lovely fruits of the Holy Ghost, charity, joy, peace, &c., transparent in his soul. And not only I, but many other Catholics who came to receive his benediction and

¹ He was a Benedictine. During the Titus Oates conspiracy he was tried and acquitted. He was again brought to trial and condemned under 27 Eliz., but reprieved, owing to the exertions of friends. He remained in prison until the accession of James II.

² Both were prisoners at the same time.

were eye-witnesses, can testify, there appeared in his words, in his actions, in his countenance, something so divinely elevated, such a composed mixture of cheerfulness, constancy, love, sweetness, and candour, as manifestly denoted the divine goodness had made him fit for a victim, and destined him for heaven. None saw or came near him but received new comfort, new fervour, new desires to please, serve, and suffer for Jesus Christ by his very presence. . . . His love had extinguished in him all fear of death. Hence the joy of our holy martyr seemed still to increase with his danger, and was fully accomplished by an assurance of death. . . . After he certainly knew God Almighty had chosen him to the crown and dignity of martyrdom, he continually studied how to divest himself of himself, and become more and more an entirely pleasing and perfect holocaust; to which end he gave up his soul, with all its faculties, to the conduct of God; so, for God's sake, he resigned the care and disposal of his body to unworthy me.¹

On July 1st, he was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn; on which occasion the serenity of his countenance, the courage, cheerfulness, and piety with which he went to meet death, gave great edification to the spectators. At the place of execution he spoke at some length, numbering up the heads of accusation against him and refuting them by the most solemn protestations of his innocency, and by showing not only the improbability but the impossibility of his being guilty of what was laid to his charge. He declared he forgave the false witnesses who spilled his innocent blood, his judges too, and all concurring directly or indirectly to take away his life, and he asked forgiveness of all those whom he had ever offended by thought, word, or deed, ending thus:

'Now that I have shown sufficiently (as I think), how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy, I would I were able with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, often transgressed by me, for which I am sorry with all my heart, and if I could or should live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you. And I beseech your

¹ Corker's Letter, *Irish Ecc. Record*, Oct. 1883.

Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of His Blessed Mother, and all the holy Angels and Saints to forgive me my sins and to grant me eternal rest.¹

After he had ended his speech, he recited the psalm, 'Miserere mei, Deus,' and other devout aspirations, and his cap being drawn over his eyes, he continued recommending his happy soul into the hands of his Saviour till the cart was drawn away. He was suffered to hang till he expired, and then was cut down and bowelled; his heart and bowels were thrown into the fire; his body was begged of the King and was interred (all but the head and arms to the elbows, which were disposed of elsewhere), in the churchyard of St. Giles in the fields, with a copper-plate² on his breast with the following inscription:

'In this tomb resteth the body of the Right Reverend Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, who in hatred of religion was accused of high treason by false witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn, his heart and bowels being taken out and cast into the fire. He suffered martyrdom with constancy the first of July, 1681, in the reign of King Charles II.'

Four years after his body was taken up and found entire. It was sent to Lambspring in Germany,³ where Abbot Corker erected over it a handsome monument. It was brought back to the Benedictine Monastery of Lambspring in England. Let us hope it will soon find a fitting resting place in the church built in honour of the martyr in Drogheda.

The head was given to Cardinal Howard, O.S.D. In 1714, Hugh McMahon,⁴ then a student in the Irish College, and later Archbishop of Armagh, obtained possession of it

¹ This is in the possession of the Dominican Convent, Drogheda.

² In the diocese of Hildesheim; the convent was given by the Elector of Bavaria to the English Benedictines.

³ Dr. McMahon speaks of the fragrant odour issuing from the relics. *Jus. Primatiale*, p. 9.

and gave it to the Dominican Convent, Drogheda, the first superior of which was a grand-niece of the martyr.

1691. STEPHEN KOHEL, O.S.F.

(From Hueber's *Menologium*, p. 742.)

ON the 22nd of March, in the King's Co. in Ireland, during the exile of the Catholic King James, Stephen Kohel, while administering the sacraments at Easter time in a secular dress and secretly to the faithful of Christ, and assisting the sick and dying for some miles round, was seized by a wicked band of heretics who lay in wait for him and burst into his house. They mocked him, beat him, broke both his legs, and inflicted mortal wounds by piercing his head with two leaden bullets. In this way he obtained the crown of martyrdom, and went to celebrate the feast of Easter in heaven. About the same time two novice brothers and a certain priest of a religious order, were seized by the heretics and put to a cruel death.

1691. GERALD FITZGIBBON, O.P.

(From O'Heyne's *Epilogus*, p. 18.)

HE studied in Spain, and on his return to Ireland was elected sub-prior of the convent of Kilmallock. Such was his prudence in the management of affairs that he provided for the support of fifteen religious. This famous man was met by the enemy in the County of Kerry, and slain by them in the village of Listowel in the year 1691.

PRINTED BY
SEALY, BRYERS & WALNER,
NICHOLS ARCADE STREET,
DUBLIN.